

ANECDOTES
OF THE
L I F E
OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM;
AND OF
THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF HIS TIME:
WITH HIS
SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT,
FROM THE YEAR 1736 TO THE YEAR 1778.

SIT MIHI FAS AUDITA LOQUI.

VIRGIL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
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ANECDOTES

AND

SPEECHES.

CHAP. XXVII.

PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK VISITS MR. PITT
AT HAYES—ANECDOTE CONCERNING
HIM---QUESTION CONCERNING GENERAL
WARRANTS---MR. PITT'S SPEECH
AGAINST THEM--MR. C. TOWNSHEND'S
BON MOT.

IN the month of January 1764, the hereditary Prince of *Brunswick* came to England, to espouse the Princess *Augusta*, the King's sister. When the ceremonies were ended, he paid a visit to Mr. *Pitt*, who was confined to his chamber by a severe fit of the gout, at his seat at Hayes in Kent. This visit was very far from being agreeable at St. James's. The Prince was just come from Berlin; and whether the conjecture was well founded, or not, that he carried a complimen-

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Brunswick
visits Mr.
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tary message from the King of *Prussia* to Mr. *Pitt*, the visit at least shewed the high estimation in which Mr. *Pitt* was held by the Prince, by the King of *Prussia*, and his allies, who at this time were Russia and Poland; while we were without any ally; and the great Minister of this country, who had conducted the late war with so much honour to himself, and advantage to the Nation, was proscribed at Court, and deserted in Parliament. He was retired to Hayes—to his ability, glory, and integrity—where this young Prince distinguished him, by the most gracious marks of esteem and affection, filled with sentiments which were known to be similar to those of the King of *Prussia*, and the Empress of the North. After this circumstance, his Serene Highness did not experience the most cordial reception at the British Court; and he was permitted to embark for the Continent, in a very dangerous and tempestuous season*.

On

* There is a circumstance concerning this Prince, which seems to insinuate, that the effects of this visit were not confined to an embarkation in stormy weather. When General *Spierken* died, the Duke of *Brunswick* solicited to succeed him in the command at Hanover; and from his having



On the fourteenth of February 1764, Sir *W. Meredith* moved, "That a *General War-*
 " rant for apprehending and seizing the au-
 " thors, printers, and publishers of a sedi-
 " tious libel, together with their papers, is
 " not warranted by law." Seconded by Sir
G. Savile. Although the Constitution, the
 law of the land, common sense, and the true
 principles of justice, all united in condemn-
 ing a *General Warrant*; yet all the Law Offi-
 cers of Government, all the subalterns of the
 Ministry, all the people who called them-
 selves *King's Friends*, and all whom these
 could command or influence, pertinaciously
 defended, not indeed the *legality*, for that was
 impossible, but the *necessity* of the Govern-
 ment possessing a power to issue these war-

ing behaved gallantly in the British service, and having
 married the King's sister, every body in Germany and
 England thought his claim so just, he must undoubtedly
 be appointed; but the Queen's brother, a youth at that
 time, was preferred to him.

Another instance of the Queen's influence has been stat-
 ed to be, the payment of her brother's debts (the Duke of
Mecklenburgh); soon after which, his Majesty applied to
 Parliament for the payment of his own debts; or, in the
 Parliamentary language, to discharge the arrears of his
 Civil List.

Mr. Pitt's
speech a-
gainst
them.

rants whenever the Secretary of State in his discretion should think fit. The debate having continued all night, was adjourned to the seventeenth.

On the adjourned debate, Mr. *Pitt*, being able to attend, spoke in favour of the motion. ‘ He began with observing, that all ‘ which the Crown had desired, all which Ministers had wished, was accomplished in the ‘ conviction and expulsion of Mr. *Wilkes*; it ‘ was now the duty of the House to do justice ‘ to the Nation, to the Constitution; and to ‘ the Law. Ministers had refused to lay the ‘ warrant before the House, because they were ‘ conscious of its illegality. And yet these ‘ Ministers, he said, who affect so much regard ‘ for Liberty and the Constitution, are ardently ‘ desirous of retaining for themselves, and for ‘ their successors, a power to do an illegal act. ‘ Neither the Law Officers of the Crown, nor ‘ the Minister himself, had attempted to defend the legality of this warrant. Whenever ‘ goaded upon the point, they had evaded it. ‘ He therefore did not hesitate to say, that ‘ there was not a man to be found of sufficient ‘ profligacy

‘ profligacy to defend this warrant, upon the
 ‘ principle of legality. It was no justification,
 ‘ he said, that General Warrants had been
 ‘ issued. Amongst the warrants which were
 ‘ laid before the House, to shew the practice of
 ‘ of office, there were two which had been
 ‘ issued by himself; but they were not against
 ‘ libels. One was, for the seizure of a num-
 ‘ ber of persons on board a ship going to
 ‘ France; the other for apprehending the
 ‘ Count de *St. Germain*, a suspected foreigner;
 ‘ and both in a time of war with France. Upon
 ‘ issuing the latter warrant, he consulted his
 ‘ friend the Attorney General (who was af-
 ‘ terwards Lord *Camden*), who told him the
 ‘ warrant would be illegal, and if he issued it
 ‘ he must take the consequences; nevertheless,
 ‘ preferring the general safety, in time of war
 ‘ and public danger, to every personal con-
 ‘ sideration, he run the risk, as he would of his
 ‘ head, had that been the forfeit, upon the like
 ‘ motive, and did an extraordinary act, against
 ‘ a suspicious foreigner, just come from France;
 ‘ and who was concealed at different times, in
 ‘ different houses. The real exigency of the
 ‘ case, of the time, and the apparent necessity
 ‘ of the thing, would, in his opinion, always
 ‘ justify

' justify a Secretary of State, in every extraor-
 ' dinary act of power. In the present case,
 ' there was no necessity for a General Warrant.
 ' Ministers knew all the parties. The plea of
 ' necessity could not be urged; there was no
 ' pretence for it. The nation was in perfect
 ' tranquillity. The safety of the State was in
 ' no danger. The charge was, the writing
 ' and publishing a libel. What was there in
 ' this crime, so heinous and terrible, as to re-
 ' quire this formidable instrument; which,
 ' like an inundation of water, bore down all
 ' the barriers and fences of happiness and se-
 ' curity? Parliament had voted away its own
 ' privilege, and laid the personal freedom of
 ' every representative of the nation, at the mer-
 ' cy of his Majesty's Attorney General. Did
 ' Parliament see the extent of this surrender,
 ' which they had made? Did Parliament see
 ' that they had decided upon the unalienable
 ' rights of the people, by subjecting their re-
 ' presentatives to a restraint of their persons,
 ' whenever the Ministers or the Attorney Ge-
 ' neral thought proper? The extraordinary
 ' and wanton exercise of an illegal power, in
 ' this case, admits of no justification, nor even
 ' palliation. It was the indulgence of a per-
 ' sonal

'sonal resentment against a particular person:
 'And the condemnation of it is evaded by a
 'pretence that is *false*, is a mockery of justice,
 'and an imposition on the House. We are
 'told that this warrant is *pendente lite*; that it
 'will come under judicial decision, in the de-
 'terminations of the Court on the bills of ex-
 'ception; and, therefore, that Parliament
 'ought not to declare any judgment upon the
 'subject. In answer to this, he said, that
 'whenever the bills of exceptions came to be
 'argued, it would be found, that they turned
 'upon *other points*. Upon *other points*, he re-
 'peated. He was confident in his assertion.
 'He concluded with saying, that if the House
 'negatived the motion, they would be the dis-
 'grace of the present age, and the reproach of
 'posterity; who, after sacrificing their own
 'privileges, had abandoned the liberty of the
 'subject, upon a pretence that was wilfully
 'founded in error, and manifestly urged for
 'the purpose of delusion.'

Upon a motion being made for adjourning
 the debate for four months, the numbers
 were 234 for the question, and 220 against it.

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The Right Hon. *Charles Townshend*, who at this time was in opposition to the Ministry, said to Mr. *Pitt* as they entered the House, that they should be in the majority that night. It was certainly his opinion ; for he said afterwards to several of his friends, that he was confident they went *into* the House a majority ; but that *Lloyd**, who had the Minister's *private pocket book*†, made converts before the division.

It was in the adjourned debate that one of Mr. *Townshend's* happy *bon mots* was delivered. The Master of the Rolls, at that time Sir *Thomas Serwell*, who usually sat in the House in his great wig, said, in the first debate, in favour of the adjournment from the 14th to the 17th, “ that such adjournment, ‘ though short, would afford him an opportunity to examine his books and authorities ‘ upon the subject, and he should then be ‘ prepared with an opinion upon it ; which

* Mr. *Charles Lloyd*, who was Mr. *Grenville's* *private* Secretary.

† The term given to the Minister's pocket List of *his* Members, who have no ostensible places, but have *private* douceurs given to them at the end of the Session ; and sometimes receive an *extraordinary* douceur for a *particular* vote.

‘ at

‘ at present he was not.’ Upon the second debate, he said, ‘ That he had that very morning turned the whole matter over in his mind as he lay upon his pillow, and after ruminating and considering upon it a good deal, he could not help declaring that he was of the same opinion he was before.’ Upon which Mr. C. Townshend started up, and said, ‘ He was very sorry to remark, *That what the Right Honourable Gentlemen had found in his night cap, he had lost in his periwig.*’

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SIR WILLIAM PYNSENT LEAVES HIS FORTUNE TO MR. PITT—SIMILAR INTENTION OF MR. HOLLIS—PRESENT AND NOTE FROM WAREHAM—PITT'S DIAMOND—THE REGENCY—AMERICAN STAMP ACT—LORD BUTE RESOLVES TO DISMISS THE MINISTERS—GETS AN AUDIENCE OF THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND—THE DUKE SENDS FOR LORD TEMPLE—CONFERENCE BETWEEN THEM—THE DUKE GOES TO MR. PITT—APPLIES TO LORD LYTTELTON—LORD TEMPLE AND MR. GRENVILLE RECONCILED—OBSERVATION—MR. STUART MACKENZIE DISMISSED—THE KING SENDS FOR MR. PITT—LORD TEMPLE SENT FOR—THEY REFUSE THE KING'S OFFERS—OBSERVATION—KING'S FRIENDS—CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD AND MR. JENKINSON—THE DUKE FORMS A NEW MINISTRY.

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1764.

THE fame of Mr. *Pitt's* character, of his public virtue and great talents, excited no less the admiration of all independent persons at home, than of princes and potentates abroad.

Although

Although proscribed the Court of his Sovereign, he maintained a place in the hearts of the people. Although his Majesty's Council had repudiated his advice, and the representatives of the nation had engaged with a more profitable master, yet there were many persons, who saw no disloyalty to the King nor disrespect to Parliament (themes which are constantly dwelt upon whenever a proscribed person is popular), in continuing their esteem and veneration for a great character, of exemplary virtue and unrivalled abilities. Amongst these was Sir *William Pynsent*, of Burton-Pynsent, in Somersetshire, a Baronet of ancient family, and a large fortune; who having no issue, bequeathed his estate (of near three thousand pounds per annum) to Mr. *Pitt* and his heirs. He died on the 12th of January 1765. There was a contention for the property; and it was countenanced from a quarter where, it might have been supposed, the perversion of justice never reached. However it was of no avail: the will of the testator was confirmed*.

Sir W. Pynsent leaves his fortune to Mr. Pitt.

In

* It has been confidently asserted, that *Thomas Hollis*, Esq. who died at Corfcombe in Dorsetshire, in the month of December 1773, intended to have bequeathed his estate to Mr.

Pitt

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1764
Present
from Ware
ham.

In the month of August, Mr. *Pitt* went into Somersetshire. While he was there, an inhabitant of Wareham sent him a salmon, with this note: "I am an Englishman, and therefore love liberty and you; Sir, be pleased to accept of this fish, as a mark of my esteem; were every scale a diamond *, it should have been at your service."

During the greatest part of the session of the year 1765, Mr. *Pitt* was confined by the gout.

Pitt; but he died before he was able to make the arrangement he had in contemplation.

Ralph Allen, of Prior Park, Esq, died, in 1764, and left Mr. *Pitt* one thousand pounds.

* Alluding to the celebrated diamond which Mr. *Pitt's* ancestor, *Thomas Pitt*, Esq. who, in Queen *Anne's* reign, was Governor of Fort St. George in the East-Indies, brought from thence, weighing one hundred and twenty-seven carats; and which, being refused by the British Sovereign, was purchased by the then Regent of France, for one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling. It was placed in the Crown of France; and for several years was called *Pitt's diamond*. For a description and representation of this diamond, see the *Museum Britannicum*, page 69, and tab. 28. And see Appendix AA. In the account of the diamonds of *Louis the Sixteenth*, published by order of the National Assembly of France, in 1792, this celebrated diamond is called the *Regent*, and is there stated to be of the weight of one hundred and forty-six carats, and estimated to be of the value of twelve millions of livres; about half a million sterling.

Early

Early in the month of April 1765, his Majesty was afflicted by an alarming disorder. At the first audience he honoured his Minister after his recovery, he took a paper out of his pocket, containing a speech to both Houses of Parliament, requesting a power to nominate a Regent, with a Council, in case of his death, before his successor was eighteen years of age. His Majesty gave the paper to his Minister, and fixed the day for going to the House. As this was the first notice the Ministers had of the design, they were greatly surpris'd by it. The speech was written, and the measure was formed, without their participation, or even knowledge. They had submitted to several invasions of their departments, by appointments being made, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military; some without their knowledge, and others contrary to their recommendations: But this was a stronger act, and a more indisputable proof, of a secret unresponsible influence, subsisting somewhere, than any other they had met with. They were not very ardent, therefore, in support of the measure. The bill was brought into the House of Lords, agreeable to the portrait given in the speech.

To

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The Re-
gency.

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1764.

‘ To vest in me the power of appointing,
 ‘ by instruments in writing, under my sign
 ‘ manual, either the Queen, or *any other per-
 ‘ son in my Royal Family*, usually residing in
 ‘ Great Britain, to be,’ &c. But a doubt
 arising on the question, ‘ Who were the
 ‘ Royal Family?’ It was explained, the De-
 scendants of *George the Second*. And this ex-
 planation was declared by the Secretary of
 State, Lord *Halifax*, to be perfectly agree-
 able to the Royal construction. The Princess
 of *Wales* (who was descended from another
 family) being thus excluded, the Ministers
 conceived they had gained a victory over
 Lord *Bute*; for he was the person who was
 believed to be the author and adviser of the
 whole measure. But the enjoyment of this
 opinion was of very short duration; for
 when the bill came into the House of Com-
 mons, her Royal Highness’s name was added,
 on a motion made for that purpose by Mr.
Morton, one of Lord *Bute*’s friends, immedi-
 ately after that of the Queen. Whether
 Lord *Halifax* did not rightly understand his
 Majesty, when he reported the answer; or
 whether his Majesty did not rightly under-
 stand Lord *Halifax*, is a distinction not worth
 ascertaining.

ascertaining. The original error was in the writer of the speech, who ought to have been more explicit. Perhaps he designedly, as well as cautiously avoided it; with a view to prevent, what by the family might have been called, invidious observation and personality. But the remedy was made, in a manner more palpably indicative of that secret influence, which dictated and controuled every important measure of Government *.

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1765.

Whether during the King's late illness, or at whatever moment earlier, or for whatever cause, the Earl of *Bute* took a resolution of removing the Ministers; are points, which can be explained by only those persons who were at that time in his confidence. The sincere opinion of other persons was, that

Lord Bute
resolves to
dismiss the
Ministers.

* It was in this session of Mr. *Grenville's* Administration, that the American Stamp Act was passed; which Mr. *Grenville* afterwards defended with the warmest zeal and resolution; yet if we may believe Mr. *Jenkinson*, now Lord *Hawkebury*, who, in such a case, may safely be taken for the best authority, this measure was not Mr. *Grenville's*. See Mr. *Jenkinson's* Speech in the House of Commons, on the fifteenth of May 1777. Mr. *Jenkinson* has not yet informed the nation, to whom this measure ought to have been ascribed; though he has explicitly acquitted Mr. *Grenville* of it.

some

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some representations had been made by the subsisting Ministers, upon the appointment of Sir *H. Erskine*; upon filling the See of Armagh, and upon other promotions, some of which had taken place contrary to their advice, and others without their knowledge; the King was offended, and applied to his Favourite to emancipate him from these importunities. Whether this opinion was well founded, or not, it is certain that, ten days at least before any intimation was given to the Ministers of the Regency Bill, the Earl of *Bute* obtained, through the interest of the Earl of *Albemarle*, a private audience of the Duke of *Cumberland* *. His wish was to bring Mr. *Pitt* into office. His project had failed in the year 1763, through his own cowardice. This year he resolved not to appear in the measure; perhaps he was still influenced by his fears, and therefore, the better to conceal himself, and to give greater weight to his design, his first care was to put the negotiation into the hands of the Duke of *Cumberland*, with some limitations. After his audience of the Duke, he and his bro-

Gets an audience of the Duke of Cumberland.

* On Sunday evening, April 14. His Royal Highness came to town on purpose.

ther

ther appeared publicly at his Royal Highness's levee, more than once during the time the Regency Bill was in Parliament. These circumstances were not unknown to the Ministers; nor did they scruple to declare to their friends, That the King's confidence was not placed where it ought to be. Yet they did not refuse a necessary measure. But they were particularly blameable for admitting one part of it, which whoever advised, gave bad advice: It was a proposition, for an unexampled encroachment on the inherent fundamental and essential rights of Parliament, and a dangerous precedent for an addition to the pretensions of the Crown, by entrusting to the *sole and secret* nomination of the Prince upon the throne, the appointment of the person to exercise the regal authority during a minority.

Mr. *Pitt* having declared in Parliament, that he would live and die with his brother (Lord *Temple*,) the confidential contrivers of this second project, to bring in Mr. *Pitt*, resolved to make the application to Lord *Temple*, with the hope of obtaining his favourable opinion, which was considered the most essential step towards gaining Mr. *Pitt*.

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1765.
The Duke
sends for
Lord Tem-
ple.

Confe-
rence be-
tween
them.

Accordingly on the fifteenth of May, the Duke of *Cumberland* sent for Lord *Temple* from *Stowe**. As soon as possible his Lordship waited on the Duke, who began by informing him, that the King had resolved to change his servants, and to engage his Lordship, Mr. *Pitt*, and their friends, in his service; but first he (the Duke) wished to know *their conditions*. Lord *Temple* respectfully assuring his Royal Highness that their conditions were not many. The making certain foreign alliances, the restoration of officers (civil and military) cruelly and unjustly dismissed, a repeal of the Excise on Cyder, a total and full condemnation of General Warrants, and the seizure of papers. His Royal Highness perfectly approved of these conditions, and said they must be agreed to. And then added, that he had a proposition to make,—this was, That it was the King's desire Lord *Northumberland* should be placed at the head of the Treasury. Lord *Temple* replied, "He would never come into office under Lord *Bute's* Lieutenant†." Here the

* His Royal Highness also sent for Mr. *James Grenville* from *Pinner*.

† Lord *Northumberland* was at this time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

conference

conference broke off. This proposition having been made in the negotiation in the year 1763, when Lord *Bute* appeared openly in the measure, left no room to doubt of his Lordship being still the secret adviser of the King, and the secret mover of the present negotiation.

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On the nineteenth of the same month, which was Sunday, the Duke sent a message to Lord *Temple*, requesting his Lordship to meet him at Mr. *Pitt's* house, at Hayes, in Kent. The Duke was with Mr. *Pitt*, when his Lordship came in, and had made the same proposition respecting Lord *Northumberland*, which Mr. *Pitt* had refused, as totally inadmissible; upon the same principle, that the refusal had been made by Lord *Temple*; of which Mr. *Pitt* had not, until that moment, received the smallest intimation. He assured his Royal Highness, that he was ready to go to St. James's, *if he could carry the Constitution along with him*;—that was his expression.

The Duke
goes to Mr.
Pitt's.

Next day, the Duke sent Lord *Frederick Cavendish* to Mr. *Pitt*, with an assurance, that the proposition respecting Lord *Northumberland*

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1765.

land being at the head of the Treasury, was relinquished provided his Lordship was considered in some other way. Mr. *Pitt* returned the same answer he had given to his Royal Highness. Upon the return of Lord *Frederick*, the Duke offered the Treasury to Lord *Lyttleton*, who desired to consult Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Pitt*. The Duke was displeased with this answer, and immediately went to the King; and having informed his Majesty of the several answers he had received, concluded with advising the King to continue his present servants.

Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville become reconciled.

At the same time, Lord *Temple*, and his brother Mr. *Grenville*, became reconciled through the mediation of the friends of both parties; who declared, that this reconciliation was no more than domestic friendship as brothers; and on public principles, only as to measures in future.

Observation.

It is in their influence on measures *in future*, that such circumstances become interesting to the nation. The reconciliation being affected, Mr. *Grenville* unbofoming himself to his brother, related all the arts and clandestine

clandestine steps of the Favourite; which, if possible, increased his brother's ardour in opposition to Lord *Bute*. Both the brothers now entertaining the same opinion, there could be little probability of another separation between them: consequently, *in future*, it must be supposed they engaged to act, and to concert their measures together.

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During the negotiation with the Duke, Parliament had been kept sitting under an expectation of issuing writs for new elections: But that negotiation having failed, the subsisting Ministers resolved to vindicate the independence of their situations, by asserting the due influence, which of right belonged to the responsibility of their offices, and to create a necessity of issuing writs very different from those which had been in expectation.

The decisive stroke of this contest, was the turning out Mr. *Mackenzie*, Lord *Bute*'s brother; which, they declared, they offered to the public as a mark, that the Councils and employments of the State were not separated, notwithstanding the late negotiation. And this circumstance gave them a merit in

Mr. Stuart
Mackenzie
missed.

their death, that most of them would never have acquired any other way.

There was no step they could have taken more personally offensive than this. And to it they added, the dismissions of Lord *Northumberland* and Mr. *Fox*, who had been created Lord *Holland*. As soon as these changes were made, Parliament was prorogued.

The King considered these three dismissions, but most particularly the first, as insults to his person and dignity. Whether the opinion was spontaneously his own, or whether it was suggested to him, is not deserving of an attempt to discover. The language of the Favourite upon this occasion was—*What! do you mean to destroy the Monarchy?—to annihilate the first of the three Estates?*

The King
sends for
Mr. Pitt.

In consequence of these open and avowed acts of hostility to the Favourite, a resolution was taken to open another negociation with Mr. *Pitt*. Lord *Bute* and the Duke having both failed, the King himself undertook this negociation. His Majesty sent for Mr. *Pitt*.

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He waited upon the King at the Queen's House, on the twentieth day of June 1765. The consequence of this audience was, the sending for Lord *Temple*. And on the 25th, they waited on his Majesty together at the Queen's House; when the following conditions were proposed to them:

Lord Temple sent for.

1. Mr. *Stuart Mackenzie* to be restored.
2. Lord *Northumberland* to be Lord Chamberlain.
3. The King's Friends to continue in their present situations*.

To the two first conditions Mr. *Pitt* was not very averse. Respecting the last, he wished for some explanation. But Lord *Temple* declared against the whole. Upon which the conference ended.—Here it is proper to observe, that upon more mature consideration Mr. *Pitt* changed his senti-

They refuse the King's offers.

* There were about thirty persons who arrogantly assumed this appellation. They affected to belong to no Minister---to maintain no connection---to court no interest---to embrace no principle---to hold no opinion. They might more properly have been called the Household Troops, or Janizaries of the Court; because they supported, or opposed, the Official Ministers, according to the orders they received from the Favourite.

ments on the two first conditions, and perfectly agreed with his brother.

The reader's judgment will anticipate any observations which can be made on these extraordinary occurrences; respecting either the humiliation of the King, who descended from his station to execute the project of his Favourite; or the superiority of Mr. *Pitt*, who resisted the entreaties of his Sovereign, when incompatible with the service of the public. These prominent features are so obvious from the plain statement of the facts, that no reader can feel the want of illustration. The future historian may indulge in observations and inferences, which the present writer dare not. And Truth may find an advocate in a future age, which the venality of the present refuses to endure.

The Duke
form a new
Ministry.

The King's negotiation having failed, the Duke of *Cumberland* was again applied to. His Majesty having resolved to part with his present servants at any rate *, his Royal High-

* It has been stated, that this resolution was taken in consequence of some expressions, which had fallen from the

Duke

ness had full power to form an administration. The Duke of Newcastle, the Marquis

Duke of Bedford in his Majesty's closet. One writer says, "The Duke of Bedford continuing in such a behaviour as no private man could have suffered in any one of his inferiors, produced an instantaneous determination to get rid of such provocations at any rate." *Principles of the Changes in 1765*, page 45.

Another, and more popular writer, says, "The Ministry having endeavoured to exclude the Dowager out of the Regency Bill, the Earl of Bute determined to dismiss them. Upon this the Duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the , reproached in plain terms with duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery and hypocrisy----repeatedly gave him the lye, and left him in convulsions." *Junius's Letters, the Author's own edition, printed by Woodfall, volume I, page 171, the note.*

And with respect to the particular dismissal of Mr. Grenville, another writer has given the following anecdote: "He had been so completely duped, that for some days after his dismissal, he had the vanity to believe the Court retained a partiality for him; but when he saw that Mr. Charles Jenkinson, who he knew was the confidant of Lord Bute, and who he had carried to the Duke of Newcastle, and for whom he had obtained a pension, for writing a pamphlet on the seizure of the Dutch vessels in 1757, and who for that, and other obligations, he thought would have followed him out of Court; when he discovered that Mr. Jenkinson stayed behind, and that his credit was not diminished at either Carleton House or Buckingham House, he then saw, what all the world knew before, that he had been the dupe of Lord Bute's agent-----that the very man, who owed his original recommendation to him, was the very man who had betrayed him. Perhaps no gentleman ever felt the poignant sting of ingratitude so keenly as Mr. Grenville did upon that occasion."

of

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of *Rockingham*, and their friends, thought it their duty to accept of his Royal Highness's invitation. General *Conway* was made Secretary of State, and to him was committed the management of the House of Commons.

ever felt the poignant sting of ingratitude to Henry as he
was a man who had betrayed him. Perhaps no gentleman
who owed his original recommendation to him, was the
less the less of Lord Fitz's agent -- that the very
fact that he had been the agent of Lord Fitz's agent, was
his credit was not diminished at that time, and he
was then he discovered that his credit was not diminished, and he
inquired, he thought would follow him out of Court;
at the Dutch vessels in 1797, and who for ever, and order up
had obtained a passport, for writing a pamphlet on the future
he had carried to the Duke of Devonshire, and for whom he
was, who he knew was the constant of Lord Fitz, and who
entirely for him; but when he saw that the Duke of Devonshire
himself, he had the sense to believe the Duke of Devonshire
had been to completely deceived, that for some time after his
while another which has given the following anecdote: "The
and which referred to the purchase of the Duke of Devonshire.

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C H A P. XXIX.

NEW MINISTRY BLAMED FOR ACCEPT-
ING—LORD BUTE'S INFLUENCE NOT
DIMINISHED—THEIR APOLOGY—MR.
PITT'S SPEECH AGAINST THE AMERI-
CAN STAMP ACT—HE COMPLIMENTS
MR. BURKE.

MR. PITT did not entirely approve of the new Ministry's acceptance. And Lord *Temple* condemned them in terms of acrimony: he said, if they had followed the example of Mr. *Pitt* and himself, in refusing the allurements of office, the Favourite must have submitted to such conditions, as it might have been thought necessary to impose upon him; which certainly would have been, an absolute and total exclusion of him and his friends from every situation and channel of secret communication with the Sovereign: there must have been an end of all those unhappy suggestions which had already distracted the kingdom, and menaced the pervasion of further misfortunes. This might be called violent language, but it was founded in truth and experience; and, although

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Lord Bute's
influence
not diminished.

though the new Ministry were not under the influence of the Favourite, yet his influence was not diminished; it might, perhaps, be said to suffer a temporary abatement, or rather it was his own policy to suspend the exercise of it, until a more suitable opportunity occurred for making another display of his power and versatility.

Apology of
the new
Ministry.

The new Ministry had this apology fairly to offer.—Out of office they were inadequate to the performance of any service to their country; but in office they might accomplish something, though perhaps not so much as they wished; and undoubtedly they should prevent any encrease, or aggravation of the public discontents.—These motives were laudable.—*Gradatim* was Mr. Pitt's own word in a former day.—They might reason justly, that in the present unhappy partiality of the King, the Constitutional exercise of the powers of Government were to be obtained by degrees, not by hazarding a violent convulsion of the State; to which point some of them feared Lord Temple's inflexibility might possibly extend.

When

When the new Ministers entered their offices, they found that many of their former subalterns were either dead, sequestered in retirement, or allied to the enemy: even the first Lord of the Treasury was at a loss for a private Secretary of competent talents. An accomplished *Commis* is an inestimable character. Mr. *Fitzherbert*, of Tiffington, in Derbyshire, a gentleman of unexampled philanthropy, and most gentle manners, whose ambition was benevolence, and whose happiness consisted in the administration of kindness, recommended to his Lordship Mr. *Edmund Burke*. The British dominions did not furnish a more able and fit person for that confidential important situation. He is "the only man, since the age of Cicero, who has united the talents of speaking and writing, with irresistible force and elegance." At the same time, his cousin, Mr. *William Burke*, of equal diligence, penetration and integrity, was made Secretary to General *Conway*. There was no private interest courted or gratified by these appointments. The merit of the persons was their principal recommendation.

Parliament

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Parliament met on the seventeenth of December, in order to issue writs for the vacancies which had been made by the change of the Ministry, and then adjourned to the fourteenth of January 1766, for the dispatch of business. On this day the business was opened with a speech from the throne. On the usual motion for an address, the friends of the new Ministry spoke very tenderly of the disturbances raised in America, in opposition to the Stamp Act, terming them only *occurrences*; which gave great offence to the friends of the late Ministry, by whom that act had been passed.

Mr. Pitt's
speech against the
American
Stamp Act.

‘ Mr. *Pitt* was impatient to speak on this
‘ subject: therefore he rose in the early part
‘ of the debate. He began with saying, I
‘ came to town but to-day; I was a stranger,
‘ to the tenor of his Majesty’s speech, and the
‘ proposed address, till I heard them read in
‘ this House. Unconnected and unconsulted,
‘ I have not the means of information; I am
‘ fearful of offending through mistake, and
‘ therefore beg to be indulged with a second
‘ reading of the proposed address. The ad-
‘ dress being read, Mr. *Pitt* went on: He
‘ commended

' commended the King's speech, approved of
 ' the address in answer, as it decided nothing,
 ' every gentleman being left at perfect liberty
 ' to take such a part concerning America, as
 ' he might afterwards see fit. One word
 ' only he could not approve of, an *early*, is a
 ' word that does not belong to the notice the
 ' Ministry have given to Parliament to the
 ' troubles in America. In a matter of such
 ' importance, the communication ought to
 ' have been immediate: I speak not with
 ' respect to parties; I stand up in this place
 ' single and unconnected. As to the late
 ' Ministry (turning himself to Mr. Gren-
 ' ville, who sat within one of him) every
 ' capital measure they have taken, has been
 ' entirely wrong!

' As to the present gentlemen, to those at
 ' least whom I have in my eye (looking at
 ' the bench where Mr. Conway sat with the
 ' Lords of the Treasury), I have no objection;
 ' I have never been made a sacrifice by any of
 ' them. Their characters are fair; and I am
 ' always glad when men of fair character en-
 ' gage in his Majesty's service. Some of
 ' them have done me the honour to ask my
 ' opinion

‘ opinion before they would engage. These
 ‘ would do me the justice to own, I advised
 ‘ them to engage; but notwithstanding—I
 ‘ love to be explicit—I cannot give them my
 ‘ confidence; pardon me, gentlemen, (bow-
 ‘ ing to the Ministry) confidence is a plant
 ‘ of slow growth in an aged bosom: youth
 ‘ is the season of credulity; by comparing
 ‘ events with each other, reasoning from
 ‘ effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover
 ‘ the traces of an over-ruling influence.

‘ There is a clause in the act of settlement
 ‘ to oblige every Minister to sign his name
 ‘ to the advice which he gives his Sovereign.
 ‘ Would it were observed!—I have had the
 ‘ honour to serve the Crown, and if I could
 ‘ have submitted to influence, I might have
 ‘ still continued to serve; but I would not be
 ‘ responsible for others.—I have no local
 ‘ attachments; it is indifferent to me, whe-
 ‘ ther a man was rocked in his cradle on this
 ‘ side or that side of the Tweed. I sought
 ‘ for merit wherever it was to be found.
 ‘ It is my boast, that I was the first Minister
 ‘ who looked for it, and I found it in the
 ‘ mountains of the North. I called it forth,
 ‘ and

‘ and drew it into your service, an hardy and
 ‘ intrepid race of men ! men, who, when left
 ‘ by your jealousy, became a prey to the
 ‘ artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh
 ‘ to have overturned the state in the war
 ‘ before the last. These men, in the last
 ‘ war, were brought to combat on your side :
 ‘ they served with fidelity, as they fought
 ‘ with valour, and conquered for you in
 ‘ every part of the world : detested be the
 ‘ national reflections against them !—they are
 ‘ unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly.—
 ‘ When I ceased to serve his Majesty as a
 ‘ minister, it was not the *country* of the
 ‘ man by which I was moved—but *the man*
 ‘ of that country wanted *wisdom*, and held
 ‘ principles incompatible with *freedom*.

‘ It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I
 ‘ have attended in Parliament. When the
 ‘ resolution was taken in the House to tax
 ‘ America, I was ill in bed. If I could have
 ‘ endured to have been carried in my bed, so
 ‘ great was the agitation of my mind for the
 ‘ consequences, I would have solicited some
 ‘ kind hand to have laid me down on this
 ‘ floor, to have borne my testimony against it !

‘ It is now an act that had passed—I would
 ‘ speak with decency of every act of this
 ‘ House, but I must beg the indulgence of
 ‘ the House to speak of it with freedom.

‘ I hope a day may be soon appointed to
 ‘ consider the state of the nation with respect
 ‘ to America—I hope gentlemen will come
 ‘ to this debate with all the temper and im-
 ‘ partiality that his Majesty recommends,
 ‘ and the importance of the subject requires.
 ‘ A subject of greater importance than ever
 ‘ engaged the attention of this House! that
 ‘ subject only excepted, when, near a cen-
 ‘ tury ago, it was the question, whether you
 ‘ yourselves were to be bound or free. In
 ‘ the mean time, as I cannot depend upon
 ‘ health for any future day, such is the na-
 ‘ ture of my infirmities, I will beg to say a
 ‘ few words at present, leaving the justice,
 ‘ the equity, the policy, the expediency of the
 ‘ act, to another time. I will only speak
 ‘ to one point, a point which seems not to
 ‘ have been generally understood—I mean to
 ‘ the right. Some gentlemen (alluding to
 ‘ *Mr. Nugent*) seem to have considered it as
 ‘ a point of *honour*. If gentlemen consider
 ‘ it

‘ it in that light, they leave all measures of
‘ right and wrong, to follow a delusion that
‘ may lead to destruction. It is my opinion,
‘ that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax
‘ upon the colonies. At the same time, I
‘ assert the authority of this kingdom over
‘ the colonies, to be sovereign and supreme, in
‘ every circumstance of government and le-
‘ gislation whatsoever.—They are the sub-
‘ jects of this kingdom, equally entitled with
‘ yourselves to all the natural rights of man-
‘ kind and the peculiar privileges of English
‘ men. Equally bound by its laws, and
‘ equally participating of the constitution of
‘ this free country. The Americans are the
‘ sons, not the bastards of England. Taxa-
‘ tion is no part of the governing or legisla-
‘ tive power.—The taxes are a voluntary
‘ gift and grant of the Commons alone. In
‘ legislation the three estates of the realm are
‘ alike concerned, but the concurrence of
‘ the Peers and the Crown to a tax, is only
‘ necessary to close with the form of a law.
‘ The gift and grant is of the Commons
‘ alone. In ancient days, the Crown, the
‘ Barons, and the Clergy, possessed the lands.
‘ In those days, the Barons and the Clergy

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‘ gave and granted to the Crown. They
 ‘ gave and granted what was their own. At
 ‘ present, since the discovery of America, and
 ‘ other circumstances permitting, the Com-
 ‘ mons are become the proprietors of the
 ‘ land: The Church (God bless it) has but
 ‘ a pittance. The property of the Lords,
 ‘ compared with that of the Commons, is as
 ‘ a drop of water in the ocean; and this
 ‘ House represents those Commons, the pro-
 ‘ prietors of the lands; and those proprie-
 ‘ tors virtually represent the rest of the in-
 ‘ habitants. When, therefore, in this House
 ‘ we give and grant, we give and grant
 ‘ what is our own. But in an American
 ‘ tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty’s
 ‘ Commons for Great Britain give and grant
 ‘ to your Majesty, what? Our own pro-
 ‘ perty?—No. We give and grant to your
 ‘ Majesty, the property of your Majesty’s
 ‘ Commons of America.—It is an absurdity
 ‘ in terms.

‘ The distinction between legislation and
 ‘ taxation is essentially necessary to liber-
 ‘ ty. The Crown, the Peers, are equally
 ‘ legislative.

‘ legislative powers with the Commons. If
 ‘ taxation be a part of simple legislation, the
 ‘ the Crown, the Peers have rights in taxation as well as yourselves: rights which
 ‘ they claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by
 ‘ power.

‘ There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in the House.
 ‘ I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented
 ‘ by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? *Would to God that*
 ‘ *respectable representation was augmented to a greater number!* Or will you tell
 ‘ him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough
 ‘ which perhaps no man ever saw—This is what is called *the rotten part of the*
 ‘ *constitution.*—It cannot continue a century—If it does not drop, it must be
 ‘ amputated.—The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House, is the
 ‘ most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man—It does not deserve
 ‘ a serious refutation.

‘ The

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‘ The Commons of America, represented
 ‘ in their several assemblies, have ever been
 ‘ in possession of the exercise of this, their
 ‘ constitutional right, of giving and grant-
 ‘ ing their own money. They would have
 ‘ been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At
 ‘ the same time, this kingdom, as the su-
 ‘ preme governing and legislative power,
 ‘ has always bound the colonies by her laws,
 ‘ by her regulations, and restrictions in trade,
 ‘ in navigation, in manufactures—in every
 ‘ thing, except that of taking their money
 ‘ out of their pockets without their consent.

Here I would draw the line,

“Quam ultra citraque neque consistere rectum.”

He concluded with a familiar voice and tone, but so low that it was not easy to distinguish what he said. A considerable pause ensued after Mr. *Pitt* had done speaking.

Mr. Con-
way.

Mr. *Conway* at length got up. He said,
 ‘ He had been waiting to see whether any
 ‘ answer would be given to what had been
 ‘ advanced by the right honourable gentle-
 ‘ man, reserving himself for the reply: but

‘ as

‘ as none had been given, he had only to de-
 ‘ clare, that his own sentiments were entire-
 ‘ ly conformable to those of the right ho-
 ‘ nourable gentleman—That they are so
 ‘ conformable, he said, is a circumstance that
 ‘ affects me with the most sensible pleasure,
 ‘ and does me the greatest honour. But two
 ‘ things fell from that Gentleman, which
 ‘ give me pain, as, whatever falls from that
 ‘ gentleman, falls from so great a height
 ‘ as to make a deep impresson.—I must en-
 ‘ deavour to remove it.—It was objected,
 ‘ that the notice given to Parliament of the
 ‘ troubles in America was not early. I can
 ‘ assure the House, the first accounts were
 ‘ too vague and imperfect to be worth the
 ‘ notice of Parliament. It is only of late
 ‘ that they have been precise and full. An
 ‘ over-ruling influence has also been hinted
 ‘ at. I see nothing of it—I feel nothing of
 ‘ it—I disclaim it for myself, and (as far as
 ‘ my discernment can reach), for all the rest
 ‘ of his Majesty’s ministers.’

Mr. Pitt said, in answer to Mr. Conway, Mr.
 ‘ The excuse is a valid one, if it is a just one.

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Mr. Gren-
ville.

‘ That must appear from the papers now be-
fore the House.’

Mr. *Grenville* next stood up. He began with censuring the ministry very severely, for delaying to give earlier notice to Parliament of the disturbances in America. He said, ‘ They began in July, and now we are in the middle of January ; lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion ; and if the doctrines I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name, to take that of revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and only differ in name. That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied ; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been exercised over those who are not, who were never represented. It is exercised over the India Company, the merchants of
London,

‘ London, the proprietors of the stocks, and
‘ over many great manufacturing towns. It
‘ was exercised over the palatine of Chester,
‘ and the bishopric of Durham, before they
‘ sent any representatives to Parliament. I
‘ appeal, for proof, to the preambles of the
‘ acts which gave them representatives; the
‘ one in the reign of *Henry VIII.* the other in
‘ that of *Charles II.*’ Mr. *Grenville* then quoted the acts, and desired that they might be read: which being done, he said: ‘ When I
‘ proposed to tax America, I asked the House
‘ if any gentleman would object to the right;
‘ I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me where the Americans are emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them their protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expence, an expence arising
‘ from

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' from themselves; they renounce your au-
 ' thority, insult your officers, and break out,
 ' I might almost say, into open rebellion.
 ' The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its
 ' birth to the factions in this House. Gen-
 ' tlemen are careless of the consequences of
 ' what they say, provided it answers the pur-
 ' poses of opposition. We were told we
 ' trod on tender ground; we were bid to ex-
 ' pect disobedience. What was this, but tell-
 ' ing the Americans to stand out against the
 ' law, to encourage their obstinacy with the
 ' expectation of support from hence? Let us
 ' only hold out a little, they would say, our
 ' friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful
 ' people of America! Bounties have been ex-
 ' tended to them. When I had the honour
 ' of serving the crown, while you yourselves
 ' were loaded with an enormous debt, you
 ' have given bounties on their lumber, on
 ' their iron, their hemp, and many other ar-
 ' ticles. You have relaxed in their favour,
 ' the act of navigation, that palladium of the
 ' British commerce; and yet I have been
 ' abused in all the public papers as an enemy
 ' to the trade of America. I have been par-
 ' ticularly charged with giving orders and in-
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‘structions to prevent the Spanish trade, and
 ‘thereby stopping the channel, by which
 ‘alone North America used to be supplied
 ‘with cash for remittances to this country.
 ‘I defy any man to produce any such orders
 ‘or instructions. I discouraged no trade but
 ‘what was illicit, what was prohibited by an
 ‘act of Parliament. I desire a West India
 ‘merchant, well known in the city (Mr.
 ‘*Long*), a gentleman of character, may be
 ‘examined. He will tell you, that I offered
 ‘to do every thing in my power to advance
 ‘the trade of America. I was above giving
 ‘an answer to anonymous calumnies; but in
 ‘this place, it becomes one to wipe off the
 ‘asperion.’

Here Mr. *Grenville* ceased. Several Mem-
 bers got up to speak, but Mr. *Pitt* seeming to
 rise, the House was so clamorous for Mr.
Pitt, Mr. *Pitt*, that the Speaker was obliged
 to call to order.

After obtaining a little quiet, he said, Mr. *Pitt*.
Pitt was up; who began with informing
 the House, ‘That he did not mean to have
 ‘gone any further upon the subject that day;
 ‘that

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‘ that he had only designed to have thrown
 ‘ out a few hints, which gentlemen, who
 ‘ were so confident of the right of this king-
 ‘ dom to send taxes to America, might con-
 ‘ sider; might perhaps reflect, in a cooler
 ‘ moment, that the right was at least equi-
 ‘ vocal. But since the gentleman, who
 ‘ spoke last, had not stopped on that ground,
 ‘ but had gone into the whole, into the jus-
 ‘ tice, the equity, the policy, the expediency
 ‘ of the stamp act, as well as into the right,
 ‘ he would follow him through the whole
 ‘ field, and combat his arguments on every
 ‘ point.’

Ed. Strange

He was going on, when Lord *Strange* got up, and called both gentlemen, Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Grenville*, to order. He said, They had both departed from the matter before the House, which was the King’s speech; and that Mr. *Pitt* was going to speak twice in the same debate, although the House was not in a committee.

Mr. On-
slow.

Mr. *George Onslow* (now Lord *Onslow*) answered, ‘ That they were both in order, ‘ as nothing had been said, but what was ‘ fairly

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‘ fairly deducible from the King’s speech ;
 ‘ and appealed to the Speaker.” The
 Speaker decided in Mr. *Onslow*’s favour.

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Mr. *Pitt* said, ‘ I do not apprehend I am Mr. Pitt.
 ‘ speaking twice: I did expressly reserve a
 ‘ part of my subject, in order to save the
 ‘ time of this House, but I am compelled to
 ‘ proceed in it,’ I do not speak twice; I only
 ‘ finish what I designedly left imperfect.
 ‘ But if the House is of a different opinion,
 ‘ far be it from me to indulge a wish of
 ‘ transgression against order. I am content,
 ‘ if it be your pleasure, to be silent.’—
 Here he paused—The House resounding
 with Go on, go on: he proceeded:

‘ Gentlemen, Sir (to the Speaker), I have
 ‘ been charged with giving birth to sedition
 ‘ in America. They have spoken their
 ‘ sentiments with freedom against this un-
 ‘ happy act, and that freedom has become
 ‘ their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liber-
 ‘ ty of speech in this House imputed as a
 ‘ crime. But the imputation shall not dis-
 ‘ courage me. It is a liberty I mean to exer-
 ‘ cise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to
 ‘ exercise

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' exercise it. It is a liberty by which the
 ' gentleman who calumniates it might have
 ' profited. He ought to have desisted from
 ' his project. The gentleman tell us,
 ' America is obstinate; America is almost in
 ' open rebellion. I rejoice that America has
 ' resisted. Three millions of people so dead
 ' to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily
 ' to submit to be slaves, would have been
 ' fit instruments to make slaves of the rest.
 ' I come not here armed at all points, with
 ' law cases and acts of Parliament, with
 ' the statute-book doubled down in dog's-
 ' ears, to defend the cause of liberty: if I
 ' had, I myself would have cited the two
 ' cases of Chester and Durham. I would
 ' have cited them, to have shewn that,
 ' even under any arbitrary reigns, Parlia-
 ' ments were ashamed of taxing a people
 ' without their consent, and allowed them
 ' representatives. Why did the gentleman
 ' confine himself to Chester and Durham;
 ' he might have taken a higher example in
 ' Wales; Wales that never was taxed by
 ' Parliament till it was incorporated. I
 ' would not debate a particular point of law
 ' with the gentleman: I know his abilities.

' I have

' I have been obliged to his diligent re-
 ' searches. But, for the defence of liberty,
 ' upon a general principle, upon a constitu-
 ' tional principle, it is a ground on which I
 ' stand firm; on which I dare meet any
 ' man. The gentleman tells us of many
 ' who are taxed, and are not represented.
 ' —The India Company, merchants, stock-
 ' holders, manufacturers. Surely many of
 ' these are represented on other capacities,
 ' as owners of land, or as freemen of
 ' boroughs. It is a misfortune that more
 ' are not equally represented. But they are
 ' all inhabitants, and as such, are they not
 ' virtually represented? Many have it in their
 ' option to be actually represented. They
 ' have connexions with those that elect, and
 ' they have influence over them. The
 ' gentleman mentioned the stock-holders:
 ' I hope he does not reckon the debts of the
 ' nation as a part of the national estate.
 ' Since the accession of King *William*, many
 ' ministers, some of great, others of more
 ' moderate abilities, have taken the lead of
 ' government.'

' He

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He then went through the list of them, bringing it down till he came to himself, giving a short sketch of the characters of each of them. ‘None of these (he said), ‘thought, or ever dreamed, of robbing the ‘colonies of their constitutional rights. ‘That was reserved to mark the æra of the ‘late administration: Not that there were ‘wanting some, when I had the honour to ‘serve his Majesty, to propose to me to burn ‘my fingers with an American stamp act. ‘With the enemy at their back, with our ‘bayonets at their breasts, in the day of ‘their distress, perhaps the Americans ‘would have submitted to the imposition; ‘but it would have been taking an ungenerous and unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America! ‘Are not those bounties intended finally for ‘the benefit of this kingdom? If they are ‘not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America—I ‘stand up for this kingdom. I maintain, ‘that the Parliament has a right to bind, to ‘restrain America. Our legislative power ‘over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. ‘When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, ‘I would advise every gentleman to sell his
‘lands,

‘ lands, if he can, and embark for that
 ‘ country. When two countries are con-
 ‘ nected together, like England and her
 ‘ colonies, without being incorporated, the
 ‘ one must necessarily govern; the greater
 ‘ must rule the less; but so rule it, as not
 ‘ to contradict the fundamental principles
 ‘ that are common to both.

‘ If the gentleman does not understand
 ‘ the difference between external and inter-
 ‘ nal taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a
 ‘ plain distinction between taxes levied for
 ‘ the purposes of raising a revenue, and
 ‘ duties imposed for the regulation of trade,
 ‘ for the accommodation of the subject; al-
 ‘ though, in the consequences, some reve-
 ‘ nue might incidentally arise from the
 ‘ latter.

‘ The gentleman asks, when were the
 ‘ colonies emancipated? But I desire to
 ‘ know, when they were made slaves?
 ‘ But I dwell not upon words. When I
 ‘ had the honour of serving his Majesty, I
 ‘ availed myself of the means of informa-
 ‘ tion, which I derived from my office: I

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‘ speak, therefore from knowledge. My
 ‘ materials were good, I was at pains to col-
 ‘ lect, to digest, to consider them; and I
 ‘ will be bold to affirm, that the profits to
 ‘ Great Britain from the trade of the colo-
 ‘ nies, through all its branches, is two mil-
 ‘ lions a year. This is the fund that carried
 ‘ you triumphantly through the last war.
 ‘ The estates that were rented at two thou-
 ‘ sand pounds a year, threescore years ago,
 ‘ are at three thousand pounds at present.
 ‘ Those estates sold then from fifteen to
 ‘ eighteen years purchase; the same may
 ‘ now be sold for thirty. You owe this to
 ‘ America. This is the price America pays
 ‘ for her protection. And shall a miserable
 ‘ financier come with a boast, that he can
 ‘ fetch a pepper-corn in the Exchequer, to
 ‘ the loss of millions to the nation! I dare
 ‘ not say, how much higher these profits
 ‘ may be augmented. Omitting the im-
 ‘ mense increase of people by natural popu-
 ‘ lation, in the northern colonies, and the
 ‘ emigration from every part of Europe, I am
 ‘ convinced the commercial system of Ame-
 ‘ rica may be altered to advantage. You have
 ‘ prohibited where you ought to have encou-

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'raged and encouraged where you ought to
 'have prohibited. Improper restraints have
 'been laid on the continent, in favour of the
 'islands. You have but two nations to
 'trade with in America. Would you had
 'twenty ! Let acts of parliament in conse-
 'quence of treaties remain, but let not an
 'English minister become a custom-house
 'officer for Spain, or for any foreign power.
 'Much is wrong, much may be amended
 'for the general good of the whole.

'Does the gentleman complain he has
 'been misrepresented in the public prints ?
 'It is a common misfortune. In the Spanish
 'affair of last war, I was abused in all the
 'news-papers, for having advised his Ma-
 'jesty to violate the law of nations with
 'regard to Spain. The abuse was industri-
 'ously circulated even in hand-bills. If
 'administration did not propagate the abuse,
 '*administration never contradicted it.* I will
 'not say what advice I did give to the King.
 'My advice is in writing, signed by myself,
 'in the possession of the crown. But I
 'will say, what advice I did not give to the
 'King :

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‘ King : I did not advise him to violate any
‘ of the laws of nations.

‘ As to the report of the gentleman’s
‘ preventing in some way the trade for bul-
‘ lion with the Spaniards, it was spoken of
‘ so confidently, that I own, I am one of
‘ those who did believe it to be true.

‘ The gentleman must not wonder he
‘ was not contradicted, when, as the Mini-
‘ ster, he asserts the right of Parliament to
‘ tax America. I know not how it is, but
‘ there is a modesty in this House, which
‘ does not chuse to contradict a minister. I
‘ wish gentlemen would get the better of this
‘ modesty. Even that chair, Sir, sometimes
‘ looks towards St. James’s. If they do not,
‘ perhaps, the collective body may begin to
‘ abate of its respect for the representative.
‘ Lord *Bacon* had told me, that a great ques-
‘ tion would not fail of being agitated at one
‘ time or another. I was willing to agitate
‘ that at the proper season ; the German war,
‘ my German war, they called it. Every ses-
‘ sions I called out, has any body any objec-
‘ tions

‘ tions to the German war? No body would
 ‘ object to it, one gentleman only excepted,
 ‘ since removed to the Upper House, by
 ‘ succession to an ancient barony, meaning
 ‘ Lord *Le Despencer*, formerly Sir *Francis*
 ‘ *Dashwood*: he told me, “ he did not like a
 ‘ German war.’ I honoured the man for it,
 ‘ and was sorry when he was turned out of
 ‘ his post.

‘ A great deal has been said without doors,
 ‘ of the power, of the strength of America.
 ‘ It is a topic that ought to be cautiously
 ‘ meddled with. In a good cause, on a
 ‘ sound bottom, the force of this country can
 ‘ crush America to atoms. I know the va-
 ‘ lour of your troops. I know the skill of
 ‘ your officers. There is not a company of
 ‘ foot that has served in America, out of
 ‘ which you may not pick a man of sufficient
 ‘ knowledge and experience to make a gover-
 ‘ nor of a colony there. But on this ground,
 ‘ on the Stamp Act, when so many here will
 ‘ think it a crying injustice, I am one who
 ‘ will lift up my hands against it,

‘ In

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' In such a cause, your success would be
 ' hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall
 ' like the strong man. She would embrace
 ' the pillars of the state, and pull down the
 ' constitution along with her. Is this your
 ' boasted peace? Not to sheath the sword in
 ' its scabbard, but to sheath it in the bowels
 ' of your countrymen? Will you quarrel
 ' with yourselves; now the whole House of
 ' Bourbon is united against you? While
 ' France disturbs your fisheries in Newfound-
 ' land, embarrasses your slave trade to Africa,
 ' and with-holds from your subjects in Cana-
 ' da, their property stipulated by treaty;
 ' while the ransom for the Manillas is denied
 ' by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely
 ' traduced into a mean plunderer, a gentle-
 ' man (Colonel *Draper*) whose noble and
 ' generous spirit would do honour to the
 ' proudest grandee of the country. The
 ' Americans have not acted in all things
 ' with prudence and temper. The Ame-
 ' ricans have been wronged. They have
 ' been driven to madness by injustice. Will
 ' you punish them for the madness you have
 ' occasioned? Rather let prudence and tem-
 per

‘ per come first from this side. I will undertake for America, that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of *Prior’s*, of a man’s behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you, and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them :

Be to her faults a little blind :

Be to her virtues very kind.

‘ Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be *repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately*. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their *trade*, confine their *manufactures*, and exercise every *power* whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pocket without their consent.’

Pitt

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XXIX.1766.
He compliments Mr.
Burke.

In the course of this debate, Mr. *Burke* made his first speech in Parliament. Mr. *Pitt* complimented him upon it, in terms peculiarly flattering to a young man.

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C H A P. XXX.

LORD BUTE RESOLVES TO CHANGE THE MINISTRY AGAIN—DISREGARDS THE DUKE OF BEDFORD—TRIES TO GAIN LORD TEMPLE—MEETING AT LORD EGLINTOUN'S—AMUSES LORD TEMPLE—LORD STRANGE'S ASSERTION—LORD ROCKINGHAM'S REQUEST—AFFAIR OF DUNKIRK—NEGOCIATION WITH MR. WILKS—PROPOSITION FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA—DISAPPROVED BY THE CHANCELLOR, WHO ADVISES THE KING TO SEND FOR MR. PITT.

BEFORE the meeting of Parliament, the new ministry having shewn an inclination to reverse the system pursued by their predecessors ; Lord *Bute*, who had been the author of that system, took a resolution to remove them. He was no longer terrified by the threats of impeachment. The Duke of *Bedford* had connived so long, his Grace could not now bring forward his menaced accusation upon any ground or pretence of public principle. He had moreover been recently

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Lord Bute
resolves to
change the
ministry a-
gain.

Disregards
the D. of
Bedford.

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1766.

recently stigmatized by violent marks of popular odium*. His Grace was not at this time, in the judgment of the Favourite, an object of dread or respect.

Tries to
gain Lord
Temple

Lord *Bute's* attention at this period, was directed to another nobleman. Since the reconciliation between Lord *Temple* and his brother Mr. *Grenville*, there had commenced a coolness between his Lordship and Mr. *Pitt*, and between his Lordship and Mr. *James Grenville*. They imagined from several circumstances, that their brother had supplanted them in his Lordship's favour and confidence. To dissolve all great connexions had been Lord *Bute's* favourite maxim, from the moment of his accession to power. Nothing, therefore, could be more favourable to his project than this family division. He resolved to seize the opportunity which this circumstance seemed to offer. Accordingly, a few days after the meeting of Parliament, when Mr. *Pitt* had given the decision for the repeal of the Stamp Act, by the

* By the Spitalfield weavers, who had assembled in multitudes before his house. Several partizans of Lord *Bute* were seen amongst them.

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preceeding speech (See Appendix T.) which Mr. *Grenville* had opposed, he solicited an interview with Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Grenville*, for the purpose of forming a new administration. His first application was to Lord *Eglintoun*, between whom and Lord *Temple* there subsisted a very warm friendship. Lord *Eglintoun* opened his commission to Lord *Temple* at Lord *Coventry's*, where they dined on the first Sunday after the meeting of parliament. The conversation began upon the affairs of America, in which the three Lords agreed in opinion, that a repeal of the Stamp Act would be a surrender of the authority of the British legislature over the colonies. Lord *Eglintoun* finding that Lord *Temple* was of their opinion, said to his Lordship, "Let us talk no more upon that subject here, but let us go to your brother.—Has your Lordship received no message from him?" Lord *Temple* said, he had not : and in a few minutes after they went to Mr. *Grenville's*. This matter had been more explicitly opened to Mr. *Grenville*, by Mr. *Cadogan*, now Lord *Cadogan*, and Mr. *Grenville* had requested Lord *Suffolk* to acquaint the Duke of *Bedford* with

Meeting at
Ld. Eglintoun's.

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with it. Upon seeing his brother, he instantly told him, without being asked a question, that an opening had been made to him of an accommodation with Lord *Bute*, and that he wanted to consult his Lordship upon making the Duke of *Bedford* a party to the affair." Lord *Temple* replied, "that he might do as he pleased; but that he, himself, would have no concern in the matter."

Another channel to Lord *Temple* was then pursued. This was by Mr. *W. G. Hamilton*, who was in the most confidential intimacy with his Lordship, and who, from the time of the separation of Mr. *James Grenville*, was intended to be his Chancellor of the Exchequer, if ever he accepted of the Treasury. But Mr. *Hamilton*, knowing his Lordship's temper and resolution, with respect to Lord *Bute*, did not warmly recommend the proposition.

Next day (Monday) Lord *Eglintoun* went to Mr. *Grenville's*, to desire him to meet Lord *Bute* at his house; but Mr. *Grenville* was gone to the House of Commons; upon which

which Lord *Eglintoun* went there to him; but meeting with Mr. *Stuart Mackenzie*, he incautiously told him of the intended meeting, and that gentleman immediately informed Lord *Holland*, who seeing Lord *Bute* a few moments after, told his Lordship, "That he was going to do a very foolish thing; but as he had gone so far he must not stop; but give them the meeting, hear what they had to propose, and then leave them."

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Lord *Temple* called upon his brother just as he had returned from the House of Commons. In a minute or two afterwards, Lord *Eglintoun* came in; and being rejoiced to see his Lordship, begged he would stay there ten minutes, while he went home. Lord *Temple* said he could not stop so long; that he was going to the House of Lords upon particular business, and it was growing late. Lord *Eglintoun* then desired he would stay only five minutes. This was refused: lastly, he requested only three minutes; and this was refused also. But in the expostulation it came out, that it was to meet Lord *Bute*, whom Lord *Eglintoun* supposed was,
by

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1766.

by this time, waiting at his own house, and he wished to fetch him. At length, pressing the matter very earnestly, Lord *Temple* answered warmly, *By G—d I will not*;—that was his expression, and immediately stepped into his carriage.

The Duke of *Bedford* and Mr. *Grenville* met Lord *Bute* at Lord *Eglintoun's*. The conference was very short: Lord *Bute* followed Lord *Holland's* advice—he heard them—and then left them. He afterwards said to Lord *Eglintoun*, that he did not meet the person he wanted to meet (Lord *Temple*), but the person he did not want to meet (the Duke of *Bedford*). Some time afterwards, Mr. *Pitt* mentioned this meeting in the House of Commons. Mr. *Grenville* did not deny it; but said, “That the single proposition made, or point spoken of, was relative to the best means of preventing the intended repeal of the Stamp Act. No other subject was mentioned.”

Amuses
L. Temple.

Notwithstanding the ill success of this project, Lord *Bute* found means, through one of the Princess's confidants, to amuse

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Lord *Temple* with assurances, that a *Carte-blanche* would, in a very little time, be offered to him : and this manœuvre was managed so well, he was completely duped by it : he believed the assurances for some time. The design was to engage him warmly in the opposition to the repeal of the Stamp Act; and he fell into the snare. Having implicitly adopted the American politics of his brother, the American politics of the Court became an easy, and almost a natural gradation.

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1766.

During the progress of the bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, it was strongly insinuated in parliament, that the bill was very far from being agreeable to the King; upon which Lord *Rockingham* asserted, that his Majesty's approbation of the measure was clear and unequivocal. Next day, Lord *Strange* maintained the contrary—that his Majesty highly disapproved of the bill. Lord *Rockingham* was greatly surprised by this explicit declaration from Lord *Strange*; and at his next audience of the King, he requested the honour of his Majesty's opinion in writing; which the King refused to give.

L. Strange's
assertion.

Ld. Rock-
ingham's
request.

This

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1766.

This circumstance was an indisputable proof, that notwithstanding the late negotiation had not succeeded, yet his Majesty still withheld his confidence from his present servants. Another change of ministers was doubtless in contemplation; although no fresh applications for that purpose were yet made.

However unfortunate these ministers might be in the closet, yet they rendered great and important services to the country. Their proceedings and conduct are well known; they are to be found in the public accounts of the time: but there is one measure of that administration which has been very imperfectly stated. It is concerning Dunkirk.

Dunkirk:

This point, of frequent and anxious discussion, seems to have been mistaken by the British ministers, prior and subsequent to Lord *Rockingham*. From the peace of *Utrecht*, in the year 1713, to the month of September 1765, all our demands concerning the demolition of Dunkirk have originated in a wrong principle. We have insisted upon levelling the ramparts, upon
filling

filling up the cunette, &c. These were immaterial points, to which the French Court consented, after some affected hesitation. The fortifications on the land side are of no consequence to England. It was the harbour alone that ought to have engaged our attention. Lord *Rockingham* saw this mistake; in his administration only, was the demolition of the harbour seriously attempted: and had he remained a little longer in office, it must have been accomplished. His demands were directed to the jettées which protect the channel to the harbour, and without which the harbour becomes totally unserviceable. These jettées are two piers, which protect about three quarters of a mile from the harbour into the sea; and are about twelve feet high from low-water mark: between them is the channel into the harbour. His Lordship ordered a breach to be made in the eastern jettee, near the middle, sufficient to admit the sea. All *Dunkirk* was instantly filled with alarm. They saw the ruin of the harbour was inevitable. A few tides made the fact clear. The sand was driven through the breach with such astonishing velocity, it was fully manifest

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1766.

the channel must be entirely choaked in a few days more. Had this breach been made larger, which was intended; and another made lower down towards the sea, which was also intended, the harbour must have been so effectually rendered useless, that nothing larger than a row-boat, or a pilot, could have got into it. The French immediately saw the effect of this small breach, and instantly put a stop to the progress of the workmen. The reader is to observe, that in all the stipulations our Court has made with France, respecting Dunkirk, a kind of childish delusion has constantly been admitted—this was—the French were to employ their own people to execute our demands, and we were to send our surveyors to examine and report the state of their operation. Our surveyors had no controul over the workmen; and if the French Governor, at any time, choose to put a stop to their labour, we could not oblige them to resume their work. The surveyors might return to England, and, upon their report, the British Ambassador at Paris was usually instructed to remonstrate; which commonly produced an evasive answer. The surveyors

veyors have been sent back, and the same farce has been played over again. In this manner have the negotiations concerning Dunkirk been continued, dropped, and revived, from the year 1713. As a proof that Lord *Rockingham* was right in this matter, we need only observe the conduct of the French, in this particular, since the treaty of 1782, by which was surrendered all claim and concern respecting Dunkirk. Instead of repairing the fortifications, on the demolition of which we formerly so strenuously insisted, or opening the cunette, or paying any regard whatever to the land side, their whole attention has been directed to *widening, deepening, and enlarging the harbour*. They have made it *capacious, safe, and convenient*. Those who think Dunkirk a place of no danger to the commerce of London, may find their mistake in a future day.

During this administration, Mr. *Wilkes* returned from France to London; and there was some communication between the ministers and him. The following; Mr. H.

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1766.

Cotes's account of this affair; transcribed
verbatim from his own manuscript.

“ Monday the 12th of May 1766, Mr. *Wilkes* arrived in town from France, with Mr. *Macklean* (formerly in partnership with Mr. *Stewart*, in a druggist's store at Philadelphia). He was very intimate with Mr. *Burke*, through whose interest he was made Governor of the Island of St. Martin. Mr. *Wilkes* had a lodging at Mr. *Stewart's*, in Holles-street, Cavendish-square. Mr. *Cotes* did not know of his coming till he saw the account of his arrival in the Evening Post of Tuesday, at his house at Byfleet. He immediately came to town, when he found a note from Mr. *Wilkes*, desiring to see him. He went immediately; when Mr. *Wilkes* acquainted him, that he was come to demand a performance of the repeated promises of the ministers; which he had in writing, viz. to give him a general pardon, five thousand pounds in cash, in lieu of what he might receive from a fine from Lord *Halifax*, and fifteen pounds *per annum*, for forty years, upon Ireland. He said, he had seen several people from the ministers, expressed

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expressed great wrath against Lord *Temple* for his strong opposition to their measures; that he had told them, he had very many and singular obligations to Lord *Temple*; and if that was not the case, he had so great a regard for Lord *Temple's* public and private virtues, that nothing under Heaven should induce him to do any thing that would give that noble Lord a moments uneasiness. He desired me to communicate this to Lord *Temple*, and to assure him of his best respects in person, but as he was in an interesting negotiation with the present ministers, he hoped his Lordship would excuse him. I went immediately to Lord *Temple's* bed-side, and related the above to him. He seemed extremely satisfied with Mr. *Wilkes's* conduct, and wished most heartily that the ministers might be as good as their promises. He desired me to convey his kind compliments to Mr. *Wilkes*, and to assure him of his friendship and approbation of his conduct upon the present occasion: at the same time, he told me, that he was very certain that Lord *Rockingham* had not the least intention of serving Mr. *Wilkes*, and feared they would deceive him.

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1766.

“ I saw Mr. *Wilkes* next morning, and found Mr. *S. Luttrell** with him. I thought that a good omen for Mr. *Wilkes*, as I knew *Luttrell* to be a friend of Lord *Bute*; and I knew, without that dictator’s consent or approbation, nothing would be done for my poor friend. However, I found afterwards, that *Luttrell* only came upon private business. Mr. *Wilkes* was extremely well satisfied with Lord *Temple*’s answer to him, but seemed to think he should succeed with the ministers. He continued in the same sentiments all that week; though I often told him, from the best and most authentic information, that I heard they never had spoke to the King about him, nor dared they do it. I went out of town, as usual, on Saturday, and returned on Monday; when I found my friend much lowered in his expectation; but said, he should see Mr. *Fitzherbert* next day, and hoped things would go better. The next day he told me, he had got into a *damn’d scrape*, and believed he had been deceived, and that my information was true, viz. that the ministers did not intend doing any thing for him; he said Mr. *Fitzherbert* had asked him, in

* Afterwards Lord *Carhampton*.

the

the name of Lord *Rockingham*, for a *carte-blanche*, to leave it to his Lordship to do as he thought proper. To which Mr. *Wilkes* answered, that he knew Mr. *Fitzherbert* to be a man of honour, and if the business was to pass between them, he should have no sort of objection; but wished Mr. *Fitzherbert* to recollect, that he himself had told him the day before, that Lord *Rockingham* had broke his word with him ten times, and then wished Mr. *Fitzherbert* to declare whether he would trust him?

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1766.

“The next day (Wednesday), he seemed to have some more pleasing hopes, having seen Mr. *Rose Fuller**, Mr. *G. Onslow*, the late Speaker's son, and Sir *W. Baker*. He then told me, that they had said the King was possessed with a notion, that the ministers had sent for him, on purpose to embarrass his affairs, and that it would take

* It is an interesting anecdote of this gentleman, that he was violent in opposition to several ministers; particularly on all questions concerning British liberty, and American policy; and when he died, in the year 1777, it was discovered he had received a pension from the Court for many years. His warmth, and apparent zeal, induced every Opposition to admit him into their confidence.

time

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1766.

time to disabuse the royal ear. I immediately made enquiry after the truth of this assertion, and found it totally void of truth, and that the name of *Wilkes* had never reached the royal ear, by any of his ministers. Of this I informed him.

“I found this day (Friday) that they had pressed him much to go back to France, but that he had absolutely refused them; and desired, I would get him a private lodging in Surrey, near the Thames, to facilitate his escape, in case of necessity. I went next day to Mr. *Jonathan Tyers*, who very generously offered his house at Dorking, but that was thought to be too far off. I went to Byfleet on Saturday, and left him to go on Sunday and see a house Mr. *Tyers* had provided for him. I offered him Byfleet; but he objected, that it would be too public, and that it would be declaring against the present ministers, as they knew my enmity to them.

“On my return on Tuesday, I found he had given over all hopes of success from the ministers, and desired I would see *Philips*,
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(his Solicitor), and Messrs. *Glynn* and *Dunning*, to consult what was proper to be done, previous to his surrender on the Friday following (the first day of Term), as he was firmly resolved to stand all chances; and said, he had told Messrs. *Burke* and *Fitzherbert*, that he had taken that resolution, and that if they wanted to see a steadier man than him, they must go to Corsica to find one.

“ I appointed *Philips* to meet at Mr. *Wilkes's* next day, in the evening, and we went to Serjeant *Glynn's* house, in Bloomsbury-square, who was so obliging as to accompany us to Mr. *Wilkes*, and stayed there the whole evening. Our discourse ran upon the means to be taken, either to appear personally, or by attorney, to reverse the outlawry; but as the Serjeant had not considered of the matter, the consultation was deferred until next morning, when Mr. *Dunning* was to meet.

“ I found Sir *W. Baker* and Mr. *Fitzherbert* at Mr. *Wilkes's* door, next morning, going into Sir *William's* chariot; who said
to

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1766.

to me, "That he was going upon an embassy for my friend within doors." I found Messrs. *Glynn* and *Dunning* in the dining room with Mr. *Wilkes* and *Philips*, and a good deal of discourse upon the proceedings upon writs of error, &c. passed; but Mr. *Wilkes* was desirous to suspend any resolution being taken, until the return of Sir *W. Baker* and Mr. *Fitzherbert*, which happened in about two hours; when after a long conversation with them, and Lord *Rockingham's* Secretary, Mr. *Burke*, who came with them, Mr. *Wilkes* came up stairs and told us, that as he could not reverse his outlawry, either by error, or appearance, until November Term, and as he did not chuse to surrender and lie in prison all that time, he had determined to go abroad again. He told me, that they had not given him any money, nor would Lord *Rockingham* make him any promise; and that he had been forced to borrow one hundred pounds of Mr. *Fitzherbert*, as a private friend. He had received one hundred and thirty pounds before, from the subscription of one thousand pounds *per annum*, promised by the ministry, of Mr. *Fitzherbert*: which made
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the whole received of this boasted affair, six hundred and thirty pounds for the year 1765. Mr. *Wilkes* said, he would certainly come in November, and take his chance.

“ Sir *W. Baker* asked Lord *Rockingham* what he intended to do for Mr. *Wilkes*? Lord *Rockingham* answered, Mr. *Wilkes* must trust to his honour. Sir *W. Baker* said, he would certainly have no objection to do that, but thought that something should be mentioned of his intentions; that if his Lordship would give his honour to intercede with the King for his pardon, or do any thing else in his power for his service, he would acquaint Mr. *Wilkes*, who would be satisfied with respect to time, &c. But as to trusting to his Lordship’s honour at large, he would construe that as a neglect of Mr. *Wilkes*; and should acquaint him, that he had nothing to expect from his Lordship; and that he should look upon this as a slight of himself. And desired that Mr. *Burke* might go with him to Mr. *Wilkes*, to whom he delivered the above message.”

When

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XXX.

1766.
Proposition for the
government of
Canada;

When the peace of the American colonies had been settled, the ministry took into consideration the state of Canada; for which great province the late ministers had provided no constitution. This defect they conceived it necessary to supply. And for this purpose, they drew the outlines of a plan of government, preparatory to a bill. This plan, or principal features of one, was submitted to the Chancellor (Lord *Northington*), who, so far from approving of it, or offering to correct it, condemned the whole measure in the most violent terms of indignation and intemperance. It is to be observed, that the Chancellor had never been cordially their friend; and he seemed eagerly to seize this opportunity of expressing his dislike. His manners were not of the most gentle kind, nor was his language very polished, whenever he indulged in his natural disposition of reproach; harsh and bitter, vulgar and brutal, were epithets frequently applied to his character by many of those whose intercourse with him gave them a knowledge of his manners. And, perhaps, upon no event in his life, they were more justly merited than the present. He went

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to the King, and complained to his Majesty of the unfitness of his servants: he told the King, in the terms of the utmost plainness, that the present ministers could not go on, and that his Majesty must send for Mr. *Pitt*.

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1766.

It is easy to conceive, from the opposition the ministers had met with, as well in parliament as at court, that this advice was agreeably received. In consequence of it, his Majesty commissioned the Chancellor to confer with Mr. *Pitt* on the subject of a new arrangement.

Who advises the King to send for Mr. Pitt.

C H A P. XXXI.

LORD NORTHINGTON OPENS HIS NEGOCIATION WITH MR. PITT—DUKE OF GRAFTON RESIGNS—SEVERAL PERSONS REFUSE PLACES—AN EIGHTEEN DAYS JOURNAL—MR. PITT SEES THE KING—LORD TEMPLE SENT FOR, AND GOES TO THE KING—CONFERENCE BETWEEN MR. PITT AND LORD TEMPLE AT HAMPSTEAD—THEY DIFFER AND SEPARATE—LORD TEMPLE HAS AN AUDIENCE OF THE KING—RETURNS TO STOWE—MR. PITT CREATED EARL OF CHATHAM—HIS EXTRAORDINARY GRANTS—MR. TOWNSHEND MANAGER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—SEVERAL PERSONS REFUSE PLACES—LORD ROCKINGHAM REFUSES TO SEE LORD CHATHAM—MR. STUART MACKENZIE RESTORED—LORD CHATHAM NOT UNITED WITH LORD BUTE.

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XXXI.

1766.

LORD NORTHINGTON opened his negotiation with Mr. Pitt, through the channels of the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Calcraft. Mr. Pitt was at that time at his new estate in Somersetshire; from which

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which place he was sent for. He arrived in London on the eleventh of July; and the same evening he had a conference with Lord *Northington*.

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The Duke of *Grafton* had lately resigned his office of Secretary of State, and attached himself to Mr. *Pitt*: this attachment he had publicly avowed in the House of Lords *. When it was indisputably clear, that Lord *Rockingham's* administration was not honoured by the countenance and support of Mr. *Pitt*, not only the Duke of *Grafton*, but several other persons † refused to contri-

Duke of
Grafton
resigns.

* His Grace said in the House of Lords, "That he had no objection to the persons, or to the measures of the ministers he had recently left; but that he thought they wanted strength and efficiency to carry on proper measures with success; and that he knew but one man who could give them that strength and solidity (*meaning Mr. Pitt*); that under him, he should be willing to serve in any capacity, not only as a General Officer, but as a Pioneer, and would take up a Spade and a Mattock."

† Lord *Shelburne* refused the Board of Trade, and Col. *Barre* Vice Treasurer of Ireland.

His Lordship refused also the Embassy to Paris.

Lord *North* refused the Exchequer, also Vice Treasurer of Ireland.

Lord

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contribute their assistance; from an apprehension, that a new administration would in a short time be appointed, of which, each man flattered himself with becoming a part, under the idea of forming a more comprehensive system. Nobody doubted the honour and integrity of Lord *Rockingham*: it was even admitted, that his administration had been regulated, and conducted on the purest principles of patriotism; yet there was not virtue enough in the country to support him.

Those who assert, that Lord *Bute* was not consulted, nor gave any advice upon this occasion, must forget all the preceding facts since the death of *George the Second*; and must deny his nocturnal visits, at this time, to the King's mother at *Carlton House* *. Lord *Northington* did not indeed begin

Lord *Townshend* refused to go to Paris or Madrid.

Lord *Egmont* refused the Seals resigned by the Duke of *Grafton*.

Lord *Hardwicke* refused them likewise.

Lord *Lyttelton* refused a cabinet situation.

* *An eighteen days faithful Journal, ending a few days previous to the minister's shaking hands in the year 1765.*

Tuesday, June 24, 1766. From *Audley-street*, the Favourite set out about one o'clock, in a post-coach and four,
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Vanfitt
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Tuesda

Sackville
and then

Wednes

Thursda

Audley-st

Saturda

ditto this

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begin his negociation with Mr. *Pitt*, under the immediate and personal directions of Lord

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for Lord *Litchfield's* at Hampton Court, and came home again at ten at night; went out directly after in a chair to Miss *Vanfittart's*, maid of honour to the P. D. of W. in Sackville-street; staid there but a very little while, and then went to Carlton-house, and returned home about twelve o'clock.

Wednesday 25. From Audley-street, the Favourite set out in a chair, at half past six in the evening, went into Sackville-street, as before, staid there till past ten, then went to Carlton-house, and returned home about twelve.

Thursday 26. From ditto, the Favourite set out at half past six in the evening in a chair, went into Sackville-street as before, staid there till ten, then went to Carlton-house, and came home at twelve.

Friday 27. At seven this morning the Favourite set out from Audley-street, for his seat in Bedfordshire.

Sunday 29. The Earl returned from Bedfordshire this day to dinner; set out as before at a quarter past six for Sackville-street, staid there till about ten, then went to Carlton-house, and came home at twelve.

Monday 30. From Audley-street, the Favourite set out in a chair a quarter past six, went into Sackville-street, staid there till about ten, then went to Carlton-house, and came home as usual at twelve.

Tuesday, July 1. From ditto, at half past six in a chair to Sackville-street, staid there till ten, then to Carlton-house, and thence home at twelve.

Wednesday 2. From ditto, ditto, ditto, and ditto.

Thursday 3. At six this morning the Favourite set out from Audley-street for his seat in Bedfordshire.

Saturday 5. The Favourite returned to Audley-street from ditto this day to dinner; at half past six went to Sackville-street,

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Lord *Bute*, but Lord *Bute's* influence pervaded through a higher channel.

Lord *Northington* offered Mr. *Pitt* a *Carte-blanche*. Although Mr. *Pitt* did not dispute his Lordship's authority or veracity, in making this offer, yet he wished to have it

street, staid there as usual till about ten, then to Carlton-house, and afterwards came home about twelve.

Sunday 6. At half past six to Sackville-street as usual, about ten to Carlton-house, and home at twelve as before.

Monday 7. At three quarters past six to Sackville-street as usual, about ten to Carlton-house, and home at twelve.

Tuesday 8. At half past six to Sackville-street, about ten to Carlton-house, and home at twelve.

Wednesday 9. At half past six to Sackville-street, about ten to Carlton-house, and home at twelve.

Thursday 10. This morning at seven the Favourite and his lady set out from Audley-street for Bedfordshire.

Saturday 12. Returned this day from Bedfordshire to dinner, and, being Lord *Mount Stewart's* birth-day, he went out at eight this evening to Sackville-street, staid there till past ten, then went to Carlton-house, and returned home about twelve.

Sunday 13. At half past six to Sackville-street, staid there till past ten, then to Carlton-house, and home at twelve.

Monday 14. At half past six to Sackville-street, staid there till ten, then to Carlton-house, staid there till past twelve, and then returned home.

N. B. The curtains of the chair, from Audley to Sackville-street, were constantly drawn, and the chair taken into the house.

confirmed.

confirmed by the King. Mr. *Pitt* was introduced to the King at Richmond. The conference was very short. His Majesty confirmed the offer made by his Chancellor; and added, that he had no terms to propose. He put himself into his (Mr. *Pitt*'s) hands. This was on Saturday the 12th of July *. In the evening Mr. *Pitt* had another conference with the Chancellor, and afterwards with General *Conway*, with whom he settled the principal arrangements. Next day (Sunday) the Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, sent for Lord *Temple*, who was at Stowe, in Buckinghamshire. His Lordship came to town on the fourteenth. Next morning he waited upon the King at Richmond, before he saw Mr. *Pitt*. The King acquainted his Lordship with the offer that had been made to Mr. *Pitt*; and added, that he expected his Lordship would assist Mr. *Pitt* in forming the arrangements. Next day, which was the 16th, "† his Lordship received

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Lord Temple
sent for,

* *Vide* the dates, of the last three days, of the preceding eighteen days journal.

† This account of the conference between Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* at Hampstead, and the subsequent audience of the

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Confer-
ence be-
tween Mr.
Pitt and
Lord Tem-
ple at
Hampstead,

received a very affectionate letter from Mr. *Pitt*, then at North End, Hampstead, desiring to see his Lordship there, as his health would not permit him to come to town. His Lordship went; and Mr. *Pitt* acquainted him, that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to send for him, to form an administration; and as he thought his Lordship “*indispensible*,” he desired his Majesty to send for him, and put him at the head of the Treasury; and that he himself would take the post of Privy Seal. Mr. *Pitt* then produced a list of several persons, which he said, *he* had fixed upon to go in with his Lordship; and which, he added, was not to be altered. Lord *Temple* said, that he had had the honour of a conference with his Majesty at Richmond the evening before, and that he did not understand, from what passed

the King, are taken from a pamphlet called *An Enquiry, &c.* Lord *Chesterfield*, in his letters to his son, says, this pamphlet was written by Lord *Temple*. But his Lordship was mistaken. The pamphlet was written by Mr. *Humphry Cotes*, assisted by another person. It is, however true, that the particular facts, stated in this account of the conference and of the audience, were communicated by Lord *Temple*, in conversation, to Mr. *Cotes*; who, without Lord *Temple's* participation, caused them to be published.

between

between them, that Mr. *Pitt* was to be *absolute master*, and to form *every part* of the administration; if he had, he should not have given himself the trouble of coming to Mr. *Pitt* upon that subject, being determined to come in upon an *equality* with Mr. *Pitt*, in case he was to occupy the most responsible place under government. And as Mr. *Pitt* had chosen only a *side-place*, without any responsibility annexed to it, he should insist upon some of his friends being in the cabinet offices with him, and in whom he could confide: which he thought Mr. *Pitt* could have no objection to, as he must be sensible he could not come in with honour, unless he had such nomination; nor did he desire, but that Mr. *Pitt* should have his share of the nomination of *his* friends. And his Lordship added, that he made a *sacrifice* of his brother Mr. *G. Grenville*, who, notwithstanding his being entirely out of place, and excluded from all connection with the intended system, would nevertheless give *him* (Lord *Temple*) all the assistance and support in his power: that it was an idea to conciliate all parties, which was the ground that had made Mr. *Pitt*'s former administration so re-

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spectable and glorious, and to form upon the solid basis of *union*, an able and responsible administration; to brace the relaxed sinews of government, retrieve the honour of the crown, and pursue the permanent interest of the public: but that if Mr. *Pitt* insisted upon a superior dictation, and did not chuse to join in a plan designed for the restoration of that *union*, which at no time was ever so necessary, he desired the conference might be broke off, and that Mr. *Pitt* would give himself no further trouble about him, for that he would not submit to the proposed conditions.

“ Mr. *Pitt*, however, insisted upon continuing the conference; and asked, who those persons were whom his Lordship intended for some of the cabinet employments? His Lordship answered, that one in particular was a noble Lord of approved character, and known abilities, who had last year refused the very office now offered to him (Lord *Temple*) though pressed to it in the strongest manner, by the Duke of *Cumberland* and the Duke of *Newcastle*; and who being their common friend, he did not doubt Mr. *Pitt* himself

himself had in contemplation. This worthy and respectable person was Lord *Lyttelton*. At the conclusion of this sentence, Mr. *Pitt* said, Good God! how can you compare him to the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord *Shelburne*, and Mr. *Conway*? Besides, continued he, I have taken the Privy Seal, and he cannot have that. Lord *Temple* then mentioned the post of Lord President: upon which Mr. *Pitt* said, that could not be, for he had engaged the Presidency: but, says he, Lord *Lyttelton* may have a pension. To which Lord *Temple* immediately answered, that would never do; nor would he stain the bud of his administration with an accumulation of pensions. It is true, Mr. *Pitt* vouchsafed to permit Lord *Temple* to nominate his own Board; but at the same time insisted, that if two persons of that board (*T. Townshend* and *G. Onslow*, Esqrs.) were turned out, they should have a compensation, i. e. *pensions*.

“ Mr. *Pitt* next asked, what person his Lordship had in his thoughts for Secretary of State? His Lordship answered, Lord *Gower*, a man of great abilities, and whom he

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They differ.

he knew to be equal to any Mr. *Pitt* had named, and of much greater alliance; and in whom he meant and hoped to unite and conciliate a great and powerful party, in order to widen and strengthen the bottom of his administration, and to vacate even the idea of opposition; thereby to restore unanimity in Parliament, and confine every good man's attention to the real objects of his country's welfare. And his Lordship added, that he had never imparted his design to Lord *Gower*, nor did he know whether that noble Lord would accept of it *, but mentioned it now, only as a comprehensive measure, to attain the great end he wished, of restoring unanimity by a reconciliation of parties; that the business of the nation might go on without interruption, and become the only business of parliament. But Mr. *Pitt* rejected this proposal, evidently *healing* as it appeared, by saying, that he had determined Mr. *Conway* should stay in his present office, and that he had Lord *Shelburne* to propose for the other office, then held by the Duke of *Richmond*;

* Lord *Temple* afterwards wrote to Lord *Gower*, to excuse the mention he had made of his name.

so that there remained no room for Lord Gower. This Lord Temple said, was coming to his first proposition of being sole and absolute dictator, to which no consideration should ever induce him to submit. And therefore he insisted upon ending the conference; which he did with saying, That if he had been first called upon by the King, he should have consulted Mr. Pitt's honour, with regard to the arrangements of ministers, and have given him an equal share in the nomination; and that he thought himself ill-treated by Mr. Pitt, in his not observing the like conduct."

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And separate.

Here the conference ended.

Next day Lord Temple had an audience of the King in the closet; when his Lordship told his Majesty, in substance, "That Mr. Pitt's terms were of such a nature, he could not possibly accept of them consistently with his honour: that he had made a sacrifice of his brother to Mr. Pitt's resentment, in order to accommodate with him; but that gentleman insisted upon bringing in a set of men, some of whom were personal enemies to

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to his Lordship, and with whom he had differed upon the most essential points of government; and would not permit him to name one friend for the cabinet, in whom he had an entire confidence: and had assumed a power to himself, to which his Lordship never could submit; for if he did, the world would say, with great justice, that he went in like a child, to go out like a fool. That his wish was, to retrieve the honour of the nation by an administration formed upon a broad bottom, and composed of men of the best abilities, without respect to party, which his first and principal view was to extinguish and annihilate, as much as possible, in order that the whole attention of parliament might be confined to the great objects of national concern. That he had never been a suitor to his Majesty, either for himself or his friends, for any place of honour or emolument; he did not even seek the present offer; yet he was extremely willing to sacrifice his own peace and leisure, to the service of his Majesty and the country, provided he could do it with honour; but that, he added,

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was in his own disposal, and he would not make a compliment of it to any man.

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1766.

“ In the evening (of the same day) the noble Lord told Lord *Northington*, that the farce was at an end, and the masque was off: His Lordship need not have sent for him from the country, for there was no real wish or intention to have him in the administration.”

Lord *Temple* returned to Stowe. The natural disposition of this noble Lord, was the most amiable that can be conceived, to his friends; but when offended, his disapprobation was warm and conspicuous—his language flowed spontaneously from his feelings; his heart and his voice always corresponded. With such a temper, it was not probable that the cause of his separation from Mr. *Pitt* would either be concealed, or indifferently expressed.

And re-
turns to
Stowe.

Mr. *Pitt* having made choice of the office of Privy Seal for himself, was necessarily created a peer. This was announced to the public, in the London Gazette in the following

Mr. Pitt
created
Earl of
Chatham.

lowing words—" *St. James's, July 30.* The King has been pleased to grant unto the Right Honourable *William Pitt*, and his heirs male, the dignity of a Viscount and Earl of Great Britain, by the name, style and title of Viscount *Pitt*, of Burton-Pynsent, in the county of Somerset, and Earl of Chatham, in Kent."—A list of the persons, to whom his Lordship distributed the offices of State, may be seen at the end of the work *. Although he continued

* But the following extraordinary grants are proper to be mentioned here.—Having made Lord *Northington* President of the Council, it was stipulated, that whenever his Lordship should resign that post, he should receive during his life a pension of 4000 l.

Also the reversion of the Hanaper was secured to him for two lives, after the demise of the Duke of *Chandos*; salary supposed to be per annum 1350 l.

The reversion of a Teller of the Exchequer for Lord *Camden's* son. Salary about per annum 3500 l.

A pension to Lord *Camden* on the Irish Establishment, in case he should lose his post of Lord Chancellor before there is a vacancy in the Exchequer for his son; per annum 1500 l.

A pension to Col. *Ligonier* for life, on England; per annum 1500 l.

A surrender of the borough of Orford to Lord *Hertford*—

Mr. *Stanley* appointed Ambassador to Russia, but never went—

Lord *Bristol* appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but never went—

An additional pension to Prince *Ferdinand*, on the Irish Establishment, per annum 2000 l.

Mr.

Mr. C
State,
House
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Mr. *Conway*, in his post of Secretary of State, yet he gave the management of the House of Commons to Mr. *Townshend*; and Lord *Granby* was put at the head of the army. Before Lord *Chatham* had finally settled his arrangements, he made several offers to different persons of great weight and consideration, with a view of strengthening his ministry, and of detaching them from their friends. But that superiority of mind, which had denied him the usual habits of intercourse with the world, gave an air of austerity to his manners, and precluded the policy of a convenient condescension to the minutiae of politeness, and fascinating powers of address. He made an offer of Secretary of State to Lord *Gower*, whom he had refused, when proposed for that office by his brother. He made offers to the Duke of *Portland*, Mr. *Dowdeswell* and several others. But in such terms of hauteur, as seemed to provoke, though unintentionally; the necessity of refusal*.

* To one, of the most amiable and gentle manners, an abrupt message was sent, "That he might have an office if he would." To another, "That such an office was still vacant." To a third, "That he must take such an office, or none."

They

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Mr. Townshend has the House of Commons.

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Several
persons re-
fuse places.
Ld. Rock-
ingham re-
fuses to see
Lord Chat-
ham.

They were all rejected. He then waited upon Lord *Rockingham*; at his house in Grosvenor-square; but Lord *Rockingham*, who was at home, refused to see him.—These circumstances chagrined him considerably. He now found, for the first time in his life, that splendid talents alone were not sufficient to support the highest situations; that the government of a party and the government of a nation, were as distinct in their features as in their principles. He now felt the loss of his brother, Lord *Temple*, whose gracious affability procured him the esteem of all ranks of people, while the splendor of his own talents commanded their admiration. These two great men united, made a host against the world; but when separated, they became the instruments of two factions; both of them without intending it, and for some time without perceiving it: Lord *Chatham* of the court, and Lord *Temple* of the opposition.

One of the first acts of Lord *Chatham's* administration, was the restoration of Mr. *Stuart Mackenzie*.—He did this in the handsomest manner possible.—When Mr.

Mackenzie

Mackenzie was first appointed to the *snecure* of Privy Seal for Scotland, he was honoured with the royal assurance, that he should enjoy the place for his life. But the Duke of *Bedford* had obliged his Majesty to break his promise in the year 1765, in order to convince the nation, that he (the Duke) was not under the influence of Lord *Bute*. Lord *Chatbam* thought this removal such a flagrant violation of the royal promise that he made this reparation of the King's private honour one of the first acts of his ministry without regarding the unpopularity of the measure. This circumstance indisputably proves, that Lord *Chatbam* was not unfavourably disposed to the King's friendships, nor even to his partialities.—And if we reflect a moment upon the great political talents of his Lordship, and the wonderful effects of his return to office in the year 1757, we may safely say, that every public interest, and every private attachment might have been at this period, as harmoniously arranged, and would probably have been honoured with equal success, and supported by similar unanimity,

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unanimity, *had he found the same fidelity in the closet.*

Mr. Stuart
Mackenzie
restored.

The restoration of Mr. *S. Mackenzie*, the fact of his own peerage, and his sudden difference with Lord *Temple*, gave cause and credit to a suspicion, which all the minions of the court assiduously encouraged and circulated, that in a very short time prevailed throughout the kingdom, of his having *joined* the Earl of *Bute*. However strong the appearances were, it is certainly true, that the suspicion was unfounded. What was said of Lord *Rockingham*, on a similar pretence of suspicion might with equal veracity be said of him also—"That with the Earl of *Bute* he had no personal connection, nor correspondence of council; he neither courted him, nor persecuted him."*

Lord Chat-
ham is not
united with
Lord Bute:

* By Mr. *Burke*.

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C H A P. XXXII.

EMBARGO ON THE EXPORTATION OF
CORN—STATE OF PARTIES—CONFER-
ENCE BETWEEN LORD CHATHAM AND
THE DUKE OF BEDFORD AT BATH—
CONFERENCE BETWEEN LORD CHAT-
HAM AND LORD EDGCUMBE -ITS CON-
SEQUENCES—THE ADMIRALTY OF-
FERED TO LORD GOWER—CONDUCT
OF THE COURT—SECOND CONFERENCE
WITH THE DUKE OF BEDFORD—
BREAKS OFF.

THERE never was known in England
so wet a summer as that of this year.
From the month of March to the month of
August, there were not successively two fair
days. This uncommon season injured the
corn harvest prodigiously. Towards the end
of the summer, when the extent of the in-
jury was manifest, ministers held several
councils upon the subject. At length they
issued a proclamation, commanding an em-
bargo to be laid on the exportation of corn.
Lord *Chatham* did not attend any of these
councils. To the second council he sent

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Embargo
on the ex-
portation
of corn.

his opinion in writing, which was in favour of the embargo. When Parliament met, ministers defended their conduct upon this particular point, by the same arguments, and avowed the same doctrines which had been used in the defence of similar arbitrary measures by the *Stuart's*. The constitution was very ably supported by Lord *Mansfield*, Lord *Temple* and Lord *Lyttelton*. And their arguments were afterwards published in a pamphlet, entitled, *A Speech against the suspending and dispensing Prerogative*. Many people ascribed this speech to Lord *Mansfield*. But they were mistaken. The pamphlet was written under the eye of Lord *Temple*, by a gentleman at the bar, who was present at the debate, and who was also assisted in the composition by Lord *Lyttelton*.

A few days after the proclamations were issued respecting the embargo*, Lord *Chatbam* retired to Bath, for the benefit of his health. During his stay at Bath, the Duke of *Bedford* came there for the same reason. Lord *Chatbam* solicited an interview with

* They were dated Sept. 26, 1766.

his Grace. His Lordship's view was, to detach the Duke from Mr. *Grenville*. His own penetration suggested to him the necessity of this attempt; and however inconsistent he might seem, in his offers to accomplish his design; the fact shews, that men of the greatest talents are not always influenced by the strict rules of consistency. Lord *Chatham* was not unacquainted, that a powerful and violent opposition was forming against him. It was menaced, that this opposition would consist of the late ministry, whom, for distinctions sake, and because the Duke of *Newcastle* was yet alive, was sometimes called the *Pelham's*; of the relations of his own family, and their friends, who, though a junior and a minor party, were yet a growing one; and of the *Bedford* interest, which at that time was respectable, firm and compact. The two last interests were united. His design was to separate them; and to strengthen his administration by an acquisition of the Duke of *Bedford*. He therefore opened his conference with his Grace, by making the strongest assurances, that he should be particularly happy to see the King's administration countenanced

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1766.

State of
Parties.Confer-
ence be-
tween Ld.
Chatham
and the
Duke of
Bedford.

ed and supported by his Grace's approbation and interest. The Duke making no reply to this exordium, Lord *Chatbam* proceeded, by saying, that he would frankly lay before his Grace the principal measures he intended to pursue.

First. He intended to keep the peace inviolate, and to keep a watchful eye over the Princes on the Continent, that they did the same.

Secondly. He would enter into no continental connections, nor make any subsidiary treaty with any European power.

Thirdly. He would observe such a strict and rigid œconomy, as should command the approbation of the most frugal member of Parliament.

The Duke replied, that these were the very measures for which he had always declared and contended. They were *his* measures, and he would certainly support them, whether his friends were in, or out of office.

Not

Not a word was spoken of America, nor of any arrangements.

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1766.

They parted in similar conceptions, that this interview was only a prelude to another. And this accounts for a great part of the *Bedford interest* being neuter at the meeting of Parliament.

Lord *Chatham's* next step was, an attempt to divide the *Newcastle interest*. He began with Mr. *Shelley*, the Duke's near relation. To him, he promised the Staff of the Treasurer of the Household; which at this time was in the hands of Lord *Edgcumbe*. In his expectations of accomplishing his design, he was too sanguine. It is true, he procured the dismissal of Lord *Edgcumbe*, and the appointment of Mr. *Shelley*; but the dismissal of Lord *Edgcumbe* was attended with consequences which rather weakened than strengthened his administration; and so far from dividing, or dismaying his opponents, rather cemented their union, and provoked their resentment,

The particulars of this dismissal were as follows :

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1766.

Confer-
ence be-
tween Ld.
Chatham
and Lord
Edgcumbe.

* “ About the 20th of November 1766, the Minister sent a note to Lord E. acquainting his Lordship, “ That a Great Personage had determined upon making some alterations in his servants; and that he [the Minister] should be glad to see Lord E. in Bond-street, or he would wait upon his Lordship in Upper Grosvenor-street.” -- Lord E. directly waited upon the Minister in Bond-street. The Minister began with highly commending his Lordship’s abilities, his virtues, his integrity, and recited the contents of his letter. Then, after many pauses, and inarticulate sounds, he said, “ He was very sorry for it, was extremely concerned it should happen so—but—a—it was necessary—a—.” Here Lord E. stopped him short, and bluntly demanded, “ if his post was destined for another.” The Minister, after a little pause, and uttering a few broken sentences, acknowledged that it was, and that it had been so for some time. Lord E. then proceeded to remind him of the measures of the late opposition; “ that he had, four years, steadily and uniformly supported those measures;

* From the Political Register, vol. I. page 275.

“ measures

“ measures which he [the Minister] had
“ approved and adopted, and which were
“ now happily effected: that he had never
“ deserted any of the great questions upon
“ the subjects of the liberties and interests of
“ his country; and expressed his astonish-
“ ment that this treatment should be the
“ reward of a conduct that had manifestly
“ the approbation of, and was agreeable to,
“ the spirit and principles of the Minister,
“ while in opposition.” The force of these
truths, and this conclusion, obviously made
an impression upon the Minister; and he
said, “ that however unwilling a Great Per-
“ sonage was to increase the number of his
“ Lords of the Bedchamber, yet he [the Mi-
“ nister] would nevertheless venture to place
“ his Lordship upon that list,” Lord E. di-
rectly made answer, “ That however will-
“ ing he really was to hold some place, in
“ order that he might continue in office
“ with his friends, and support the mea-
“ sures of government, yet, after this usage,
“ he would not take any place, nor resign
“ that which he held, to any but the
“ Great Personage himself.” And added,
“ that it was extremely impolitic thus to
turn

“ turn out persons of rank ; persons of great
 “ parliamentary interest.” The Minister
 burst out——“ Oh !” said he, “ if that be
 “ the case, *let me feel myself!* I despise
 “ your parliamentary interest ! I do not
 want your assistance !” And added, “ that
 “ he trusted to the uprightness of his mea-
 “ sures for the support and confidence of the
 “ K——, and the favour and attachment
 “ of the people ; and acting upon these
 “ principles,” said he, “ *I dare look in*
 “ *the face the proudest connections of this*
 “ *country !*” They parted,

“ Two days after, Lord E. received a
 note signifying a Great Person’s desire of his
 staff. On Monday the 24th of November,
 1766, he waited on the Great Person, who
 said, “ that he was very sorry to part with
 “ his Lordship, of whose services he had a
 “ very high opinion, as well as of his Lord-
 “ ship’s abilities, and attachment to his
 “ person, and especially because his Lord-
 “ ship had no mixture of factious principles
 “ in his disposition ; But,” says he, “ My
 “ ministers tell me it must be so ;” and
 added, “ that the idea of the bed-chamber
 “ was

“ was purely his own.” Lord E. returned
 “ the Great Person his sincere and most
 “ humble thanks for the good opinion he
 “ was pleased to entertain of him ; and ex-
 “ pressed the great obligation he was under
 “ for it, and the more so,” added he, “ for
 “ not pressing the bed-chamber upon me ;
 “ all which more than pay me for the ill
 “ usage of your ministers.” The staff was
 given up, and Mr. *Shelley* appointed Treas-
 urer of the Household.

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XXXII.
1766.

“ Next day the Earl of *Bessborough*, who
 was one of the joint Post-masters, offered to
 make room for Lord E. by proposing to resign
 that post in favour of his Lordship, and
 taking the bed-chamber, which had been
 offered to that Lord. But this obliging offer
 was rejected, Upon which the Duke of
Portland, the Earls of *Bessborough* and *Scar-*
borough, and Lord *Monson*, resigned the next
 day, which was Wednesday, November the
 26th, 1766. And these resignations were
 immediately followed by those of Sir *Charles*
Saunders, Sir *William Meredith*, Admiral
Keppel, &c.”

Its conse-
quences.

In

CHAP.
XXXII.

1766.
Admiralty
offered to
Ld. Gower.

In consequence of these resignations, Lord *Chatham* resolved to renew his overtures to the *Bedford interest*. The office of first lord of the Admiralty, which Sir *Charles Saunders* had resigned, he immediately tendered to Lord *Gower*. But that Lord did not think proper to accept it (though he did not refuse it) without first consulting the Duke of *Bedford*, who at this time was at *Wooburn*. And having given this answer to Lord *Chatham*, he went on the 28th to *Wooburn* to consult his Grace. Next day Lord *Chatham* had a long conference in the closet. He laid open the plan of his intended alliance with the *Bedford interest*, to fill the vacancies occasioned by the late resignations. But the conduct of the great leader of this interest, when last in office, had created so violent a prejudice against him, Lord *Chatham* found the execution of his plan to be impracticable in the whole extent that he designed it; for he intended to have included the Duke himself in his new arrangement. But he was entreated to abandon all thoughts of that nobleman. He was promised the warmest, the fullest, most sincere, and most effectual support. He yielded

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yielded to these assurances, or, as he said afterwards, he could not resist them: and and several vacant offices were filled before Lord *Gower* returned from *Wooburn*. The names of the persons appointed, will sufficiently distinguish the interest which prevailed. Lord *Le Despencer*, who had been Lord *Bute*'s Chancellor of the Exchequer, was made Postmaster; Mr. *Jenkinson*, who had been Lord *Bute*'s private secretary, was made a Lord of the Admiralty. The rest the reader will find in the List of Changes at the end of the Work. By this arrangement, Lord *Chatham* seemed to be entirely united to the court. He certainly trusted to the promises which had been made for his support; and he gave them full credit, because he believed them to be sincere.

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XXXII.
1766.

On the first of December Lord *Gower* returned from *Wooburn*, with the Duke of *Bedford*. A few hours after their arrival in London, the Duke waited on Lord *Chatham*, in Bond-street. The conference between these two noble peers was very short. Lord *Chatham*'s purpose was to conceal the engagement he had made with the court. The Duke's

Second
conference
with the
Duke of
Bedford.

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Duke's idea was, that the negotiation begun at Bath, and continued with Lord *Gower*, was still open. His Grace therefore requested some of the vacant offices for his friends, and an English peerage for the Marquis of *Lorne*, now Duke of *Argyll*. He asked nothing for himself; but added, that the measures which had been avowed at Bath, he expected were still to be pursued. Lord *Chatbam* began with putting a positive and unqualified negative on the peerage of Lord *Lorne*. Then, as to the offices, he said, there were very few vacant. He had bestowed the Admiralty upon Sir *Edward Hawke*, and given to Mr. *Jenkinson* and Sir *Piercy Brett* the two vacant seats at that Board, and Lord *Le Despencer* was destined for the Post-office. And as to measures, he observed, he had never altered his opinion of the peace, it was the same that he had declared in Parliament: And with respect to Prussia, he was resolved to support and maintain the alliance with that monarch. From these answers the Duke was convinced, that all thoughts of negotiation were at an end, and next morning his Grace returned to Wooburn.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

FURTHER ARRANGEMENTS — LORD CHATHAM REGRETS THE LOSS OF LORD TEMPLE—SIEZED WITH THE GOUT AT BATH, AND AT MARLBOROUGH—COMES TO HAMPSTEAD—ANOTHER CHANGE MEDITATED—GENERAL CONWAY WISHES TO RESIGN—LORD NORTHINTON WISHES TO RESIGN—KING'S MESSAGE TO LORD CHATHAM—DUKE OF NEWCASTLE IS VERY ANXIOUS TO PRESERVE THE UNION OF THE OPPOSITION—APPLICATION TO LORD ROCKINGHAM—DECLARATION OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD—DECLARATION OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE—CONFERENCE AT NEWCASTLE HOUSE—BREAKS OFF—IMPORTANCE OF THE MINISTER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—AMERICA THE TRUE CAUSE—SECOND CONFERENCE AT NEWCASTLE HOUSE—ANEC- DOTES OF MR. LOWNDS'S TICKETS, AND OF THE JUDGES' TICKETS—LORD ROCKINGHAM WAITS ON THE KING—LORD HOLLAND ADVISES THE KING.

WITH a view to detach some of the Duke of *Bedford's* friends from his Grace's interest, Lord *Chatbam*, in ten days after

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1766.
Further
arrange-
ments.

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1766.

after the preceding negotiation was closed, gave the same peerage to the Marquis of *Lorne*, which he had refused to the request of the Duke of *Bedford*. And at the same time Mr. *Nugent*, who was placed at the head of the Board of Trade, was created Lord *Clare*. But the American business, usually managed and transacted at that Board was transferred to the office of the Southern Secretary of State; and the Board itself was reduced to the state of a board of reference only. As soon as Lord *Chattham* had made this alteration, and a few other lesser arrangements, he went into Somersetshire.

Lord Chat-
ham re-
grets the
loss of Lord
Temple.

Although the vacant offices were filled, yet he was far from being satisfied with the choice he had been obliged to make of several of the individuals, or with the union he had been obliged to accept. And he regretted, more than any other circumstance, the loss of his brother, Lord *Temple*—because he felt that loss more and more every day.—He now felt the loss of a repository of his confidence—the solace of his hours of affliction. Grief, vexation, and disappointment, preyed upon his nerves; which, though in early
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life, naturally strong, were now become weak by age and infirmity. His peerage had diminished his popularity. A considerable part of his ministry, consisted of men who had been appointed through necessity, not through choice; and this circumstance being notorious to those whom he had selected in the first instance, inspired them with a spirit of envy and ambition, to become the rivals of his situation and power. He was agitated by contending passions—a mind sometimes vigorous, and often depressed—his body tortured by pain, and imprisoned by infirmity—he fell into a paroxysm of the gout at Bath, which seemed to threaten his extinction. In the month of February 1767, he attempted to return to London, but was unable to proceed further than Marlborough; where he lay until March, and then finished his journey. He retired to a house he had hired at Hampstead; but was in so feeble a state he could not attend to any public business. He remained at Hampstead some time, having sold his estate at Hayes, in Kent. The air of Hampstead was too sharp for his disorder—that of Hayes he thought suited him better; therefore he wished

Seized with
the gout at
Bath.

[1767:

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Comes to
Hampstead

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1767.

wished to re-possess his former habitation; which being made known to Mr. *Walpole*, the purchaser, he very politely gratified his Lordship, notwithstanding he had bought the place for his own residence.

Another
change
meditated.

During his absence, Mr. *Townshend*, in some degree, assumed the reins of government. He supposed Lord *Chatham's* state of health to be such as would totally, and for ever, preclude his return to public business. He therefore meditated the accomplishment of some alliances, with a view of forming another administration for the establishment of his own power. In this project he was joined by General *Conway*. They cultivated a favourable understanding with Lord *Rockingham*. Their first object was the removal of the Duke of *Grafton*; but Lord *Chatham* arriving in the vicinity of London, the design was abandoned, and the Duke and Mr. *Townshend* became reconciled*.

During Lord *Chatham's* stay at *Hampstead*, the King sent frequent messages to

* They had differed upon the affairs of India.

him

* From
additions

VOL.

him, desiring him not to be concerned at his confinement, or absence from public business; for that he [the King] was resolved to support him.

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1767.

* “ Early in the month of June, Gen. *Conway* declared to several of his friends, that he had resolved to resign his office of Secretary of State; because his situation was of late become very disagreeable to him, not only from having been frequently over-ruled in his opinions respecting measures; but from his being sensible, that he was acting in opposition to his friends, and particularly to those friends with whom he anxiously wished to be re-united. And he made the same declaration, or something not very unlike it, to the King; but at the same time said, he would stay till a successor was appointed. In consequence of this declaration, he ceased to transact any business in his office, and circular letters were sent to the ambassadors for four weeks together, signifying that he was out of employment.

Gen. Conway wished to resign.

* From the Political Register, (with several corrections and additions). vol. 1. page 201, &c.

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1767.
Lord North-
thington
wishes to
resign.

Towards the end of June, Lord *Northington* declared to the King his resolution to resign, on account of his ill state of health; and real inability to attend the public business; and advised the King to send for the Duke of *Bedford*, Lord *Temple*, and Mr. *Grenville*, whom he had before publicly declared *were equal to their offices*.

This, though an expected event, bore no relation to the preceding declaration of Mr. *Conway*, nor were the two persons in the smallest degree connected.

King's
message to
Ld. Chat-
ham.

A few days after the rising of Parliament, which was on the second day of July, the King wrote a letter with his own hand to Lord *Chatham*, who lay sick at Hampstead, acquainting him of his resolution to make some alterations in his servants, and desiring his assistance or advice. Lord *Chatham* returned a verbal answer to this effect, "That such was his ill state of health, that his Majesty must not expect from him any further advice, or assistance, in any arrangement whatever."

It

It being now certain, that application must be made to some part of the Opposition, the Duke of *Newcastle*, who dreaded nothing so much as a division of them, and therefore had for some time strongly recommended a firm union among them, against the secret designs of the Favourite; whom he suspected would repeat his old trick of dividing them. His Grace conversed with the friends of all the leaders in the Opposition; and pressed with particular assiduity and extraordinary ardour, the great and indispensable necessity of a faithful and steady adherence to each other. He shewed the advantages which must result from such an union, and exhibited the wretched and ruined situation into which any part of them must inevitably fall, if they suffer themselves to be seduced from their friends. His Grace took infinite pains to unite the houses of *Russel* and *Wentworth*; lest, by the secret machinations of the Favourite (against whose pernicious influence no administration had hitherto been able to stand, the moment he chose to become their enemy), either of them should be over-reached, or drawn in by a principle of mistaken duty; when, in

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1767:
D. of New-
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1767.

reality, it was a much more essential duty, and a matter of strict justice, to enquire after the author of the public grievances, than to connive at the protection afforded him. With a view to the final accomplishment of this union, so extremely interesting to the welfare of the country, the Lords *Gower*, *Weymouth*, and Mr. *Rigby*, dined with his Grace at Claremont; and a few days afterwards (July 5, 1767), the Marquis of *Rockingham*, and several of his friends, dined likewise with his Grace at the same place.

At this period we will leave the Opposition, and turn to the proceedings of the Court.

In consequence of the *verbal* answer received from Hampstead, the Favourite applied to his former associate, Lord *Holland*, who had so materially assisted him in procuring an approbation of the late peace, and other measures. That person sent him his advice on Sunday morning, July the fifth; soon after the receipt of which, the Favourite set out for Richmond; and it was remarkable, and much taken notice of at the time,

time, that the King did not come to town that day. Whatever was the plan then adopted for a new arrangement of ministers is not exactly known; and if it were, might be more decently guessed than related. Certain it is, that that part of the Opposition supposed to be the least hostile to the Favourite, was immediately applied to. The Duke of *Grafton* wrote a letter, by order of the Court, to the Marquis of *Rockingham*, "requesting his Lordship's return to court, to assist in the present critical situation of affairs." This naturally brought on an interview between the Duke and the Marquis; when, among other things, his Grace said, "That he was tired of his office, and wished his Lordship might be his successor." Lord *Rockingham* asked, "Whether his Grace said this from his own, or the authority of an higher power." The Duke said, "he could not answer that question." The conference broke off; but two days after was renewed; when Lord *Rockingham* asked the Duke, "Whether he was treating with the King's Minister, or with the Duke of *Grafton*."—The Duke answered, "with the King's Minister." Lord *Rockingham* then said, "he

Applicati-
on to Lord
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ham.

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1767.

Declarati-
ons of the
Duke of
Bedford
and others.

would not conclude upon any thing with out the advice and participation of his friends."

Accordingly, on Saturday July 11, he set out for Wooburn, the seat of the Duke of *Bedford*, where he found Lord *Albemarle*, who had stopped there in his way to Buxton; when the above particulars being laid before his Grace, he said, "that as the Great Personage had made choice of the Marquis of *Rockingham* for his minister, he should readily acquiesce in that nomination, for the sake of putting an end to parties, and of restoring unanimity, so peculiarly wanting at this time in the management of the public business; but though he renounced all pretensions to any place or emolument for himself, yet he did not mean that his friends should, for that reason, be excluded; on the contrary, he stipulated, that they should be considered in the new arrangement; and upon that condition he cheerfully offered his support to the administration. And added, that if the King had made choice of himself to treat with, he should have expected the same kind of renunciation

from

from his Lordship, regarding himself personally, and his friends should, in like manner, have been taken care of. However, his Grace said, that all this was conditionally only, for that he and Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Grenville* were one, and that he would not proceed without consulting them.—The information given concerning the plan was, that as to measures, particularly American measures, Lord *Rockingham* hoped they might be settled to the joint satisfaction of the Duke of *Bedford*, Lord *Temple*, and Mr. *Grenville*, and as to men, Lord *Rockingham* declared for a wide and comprehensive system.—The answer returned to this communication by Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Grenville* was, that they concurred in the idea of a comprehensive administration, as the likeliest to be permanent, and that they were ready to support such an administration, though out of office (Mr. *Grenville* having before insisted, that his name should not be mentioned for any office, having determined long ago not to be obtruded on the King), provided they adopted such measures as could satisfy them, and particularly the capital measure of asserting and establishing the sovereignty

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Declarati-
on of the
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verignty of Great Britain over America; lastly, that if this were the case, though they did not mean to take places themselves, they would use their best offices with their friends to accept of honourable and becoming situations in government,

It must not be forgot, that the Duke of *Newcastle* said precisely the same. Thus, these four great and respectable persons, of acknowledged ability and great experience, agreed to sacrifice themselves in order to restore tranquility to the public, unanimity to the King's councils, and to establish an able and permanent administration, composed of men of talents, judiciously selected from all parties. Lord *Rockingham* impressed with this idea, and following, as he had done, in his conferences with the Duke of *Bedford*, the advice and direction of his friend Lord *Albemarle*, returned to London, with full power to treat upon the formation of a new administration, upon a *broad and comprehensive system*. The Duke of *Grafton* was made acquainted with this, and desired to report it to the King, which he did on the 15th of July. His Majesty took two days to consider

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consider of it. On Friday the 17th, an answer was said to be returned to the Duke of *Grafton* to this effect, " That the King adopted and approved of the idea of a *comprehensive system*, and hoped it was not meant to exclude his friends, and those about his person; for the rest he entirely agreed."

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This answer being given to Lord *Rockingham*, his Lordship sent for the Duke of *Bedford*, who came to London on Sunday evening, the 19th of July.

On Monday, July the 20th, it was agreed that there should be a meeting of the several persons in town, at Newcastle-house that day, and accordingly there came the Dukes of *Bedford*, *Newcastle*, *Richmond*, and *Portland*: the Marquis of *Rockingham*; the Earl of *Sandwich*; Viscount *Weymouth*; Mr. *Dowdeswell*, Mr. *Rigby*, and Admiral *Keppel*.

Conference at
Newcastle-
house.

Mr. *Rigby* read a letter from Mr. *Grenville*, wherein that gentleman promised his support to the new administration, out of office, provided the dependance and obedience

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ence of the colonies were asserted and maintained. Much altercation instantly arose upon reading this letter. The Marquis of *Rockingham* was warm: the Duke of *Bedford* remarkably cool and temperate. At length, Lord *Sandwich* said, "that it was needless to debate about that letter, for he was certain they all meant the same thing; that their conduct respecting the colonies must be regulated by the future behaviour of the colonies, and not by any regard or retrospect to former transactions. If the colonies, added his Lordship, are dutiful and loyal, there will be no occasion to exercise any extraordinary power over them; and if they should be otherwise, he did not doubt but all present, as well as their friends, would join in every proper and necessary measure to enforce obedience. This reasoning being approved of, and all uniting in the same sentiment, Mr. *Dowdeswell* took up the letter, and struck out the two words *asserted* and *maintained*, and put in *supported* and *established*. Here all altercation upon this subject entirely ended, Mr. *Rigby* folded up the letter, and put it into his pocket, and there was not another word uttered concerning it.

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They then came to the arrangement of men to the great offices; the subject upon which they met. The Marquis of *Rockingham* proposed himself for the first Lord of the Treasury; with the powers usually annexed to that post, and Mr. *Dowdeswell* for his Chancellor of the Exchequer; to all which the Duke of *Bedford* agreed. The Marquis next proposed Mr. *Conway* for Secretary of State, and *Minister of the House of Commons*. To which the Duke of *Bedford* said, "that he had for two sessions seen sufficient proofs of Mr. *Conway*'s inability in a civil capacity, ever to agree to that proposal; that he thought the military was Mr. *Conway*'s proper line; that he had always entertained a very high opinion of him as a military officer; that he had not the least objection to Mr. *Conway*'s being amply provided for on the military establishment; nay, to his being gratified to the utmost of his wishes."

The Marquis of *Rockingham* said, "that it was a proposal from which he could not recede;" and other words to the same effect. Upon which Mr. *Rigby* said, "that they
stopt

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1767.

Confer-
ence
breaks off.

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stopt at the threshold, and that it was needless to go any further into the matter."

Here the conference ended.—No other particulars or conditions were even mentioned.

Importance of the minister of the House of Commons.

In a corrupt system of government, the *Minister of the House of Commons, or Manager*, as he is sometimes called, is the first *efficient* * minister in the state. His consequence cannot be more clearly shewn than by the abrupt conclusion of the preceding conference.—After so many opposite interests had been reconciled, and so many great sacrifices had been made, to remove individual jealousies, and to establish public harmony—all these were but as a phantom—they all vanished in a moment—when the appointment of this *new Minister* came under discussion. Each party wished to nominate him. They differed, and separated upon that point only—not in contention for places, but in a contention for *power*. Whoever is the minister of the House of Commons, has

* A distinction first made use of by Lord Mansfield—between efficient and official—between confidential and ostensible.

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the power of supporting the measures of government. Lord *Rockingham* wanted Mr. *Conway*, because he intended to persevere in his own system, with respect to America. The Duke of *Bedford* intended to have nominated Mr. *Rigby*, because he intended to pursue the Court system, which Mr. *Grenville* had adopted, of taxing America. America was therefore the true cause of this conference breaking off. Subsequent events have proved, whose policy was right. Had Lord *Rockingham* been minister, America would still, in all probability, have belonged to the crown of Great Britain. Or had this system of appointing a minister of the House of Commons been abandoned, that, and other important benefits, would, no doubt, have continued; because the members would have been left to the free exercise of their own judgment.

America
the true
cause.

It is impossible to dismiss this point without a short apostrophe, on the alarming state of British depravity. If the administration of annual bribes to the Members of the Legislature, independent of the influence of places, public and private, is become so necessary

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cessary, and the practice so mechanical as to comprise the *most essential department* of government—is it not a matter of indelible disgrace on the nation, and on the constitution? There is no species of corruption to be found in the ancient governments that equals it. It is a perfect parricide. The British empire has been dismembered by it—so fatally true is that maxim of Lord Burleigh, “*that England can never be undone but by her Parliament* *.”

Notwith-

* Of the many FACTS which might be stated, the following may serve for a specimen:

Towards the end of the session, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Bradshaw, one day accosts Mr. Lowndes (Member for Bucks) with, Sir, you have voted with us all the winters; some return is usually expected upon these occasions; and as we are much obliged to you for your constant support, if you chuse to accept of two hundred Lottery Tickets, at Ten Pounds each, they are at your service. Mr. Lowndes bowed, expressed his great friendship for the Secretary, and accepted of the offer; adding only, That as the session was just upon the close, he should, as soon as it was finished, go into the country upon his private affairs; and begged the tickets might be sent to such a one, his banker; which the Secretary having promised to comply with, they parted. Mr. Lowndes went to Winslow. The tickets were delivered: none, however, were sent to Mr. Lowndes's banker. The reason of which was, they had been distributed among that part of the Common Council who voted against the Livery having the use of Guildhall. Mr. Lowndes, hearing no-

thing

Notwithstanding the conference ended in the manner that has been already related, the

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thing of the tickets, wrote to his banker, who returned for answer, that he had not received, nor heard of, any tickets. Mr. *Lowndes* next wrote to Mr. *Bradshaw*, who in his answer, " begged a thousand pardons ; that the matter had quite slipped his memory ; that the tickets were all disposed of, except five-and-twenty, which were at his service." Mr. *Lowndes* meanly accepted of the twenty-five, and they were sent to his banker's.—By these tickets he probably cleared about one hundred pounds. Such was his *douceur* for voting one session with the Duke of *Grafton*.

In a late Parliament, the Nabob of *Arcot* had nine members in his interest—Might not any European prince have twice that number by the same means?—Do not these facts speak stronger than a thousand arguments, the necessity of a Parliamentary Reform?

But it is further remarkable, that in the breast of every honest man it must be matter of sincere lamentation, that *douceurs* have been given to the Judges.—Sir *Richard Aston*, in particular, was seen selling his tickets in 'Change Alley ; and when the fact was mentioned to him at the Old Bailey at dinner, he confessed it, and said, he had as good a right to sell his tickets as Mr. Justice *Willes*, or any body else.—Is not this circumstance a full answer to all the encomiums on the independence of the Judges?

But what Mr. Alderman *James Townsend* said in the House of Commons, on the sixth day of December 1770, is, if possible, of more importance than the preceding. ' I am ' afraid,' he said, ' that there is too great a vicinity between Westminster-hall and St. James's. I suspect, and ' the people suspect, that their correspondence is too close ' and intimate. But why do I say it is suspected? It is a ' known

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the Earl of *Sandwich* having occasion to make a visit to the Duke of *Newcastle*, his Lordship went next morning (Tuesday,

known avowed fact. A late Judge, equally remarkable for his knowledge and integrity, was tampered with by administration. He was solicited to favour the Crown in certain trials, which were then depending between it and the subject. I hear some gentlemen desiring me to name the Judge; but there is no necessity for it. (*Sir Joseph Yates was the Judge meant*). The fact is known to several members of this House; and if I do not speak truth, let those who can, contradict me. I call upon them to rise, that the public may not be abused—but all are silent, and can as little invalidate what I have said, as what I am going to say. This great, this honest Judge, being thus solicited in vain, what was now to be done? What was the last resource of baffled injustice? *that* was learned from a short conversation which passed between him and some friends, a little before his death. The last and most powerful engine was applied. A letter was sent him directly from a Great Personage; but as he suspected it to contain something dishonourable, he sent it back unopened. He could not die in peace 'till he had disclosed this scene of iniquity!"

And in a pamphlet, published by *Robert Morris Esq.* of *Lincoln's-Inn*, entitled, *A Letter to Sir Richard Aston*, are these words, 'Whilst the offence of libelling is treated as the most dangerous, hateful, and flagitious, the King is consulted upon the *revenge* which he would chuse to take upon his admonishers; for it was manifest, from Mr. Justice *Aston's* Speech, in passing sentence upon one of the publishers of *Junius's* Letters, that his Majesty was not quite out of the secret of that prosecution." Page 37.

July

July 21), when the Duke took an opportunity of resuming the subject of the preceding conference: "He earnestly conjured his Lordship to exert his abilities, and employ all his good offices in endeavouring to reconcile the parties who had differed; he urged again, and again, the necessity of their agreeing upon this important occasion: he trembled for the mischiefs and dangers which must arise from a division of their strength and interest; and concluded with repeatedly supplicating, in the strongest terms, that they might be brought together again to his house that evening." Lord *Sandwich* waited on the Duke of *Bedford*; and the Duke of *Newcastle* went himself to the Marquis of *Rockingham*. Accordingly the following five met at Newcastle-house that evening, viz. the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Newcastle*, the Marquis of *Rockingham*, Mr. *Dowdeswell*, and Mr. *Rigby*. When the Marquis insisting on the proposal he had before made respecting Mr. *Conway*, and declaring that he would not agree to any arrangement in which Mr. *Conway* was not included in that capacity; and the Duke of *Bedford* refusing to agree to it, the conference finally broke off,

CHAP.
XXXIII.

1767.

Second
conference
at New-
castle-
house.

CHAP.

XXXIII.

1707.

Ld. Rock-
ingham
waits on
the King.

Next day, Wednesday, the Marquis of *Rockingham* waited on the King at St. James's, and respectfully acquainted his Majesty, that he had met his friends, who had agreed to his proposal of his being first Lord of the Treasury; but that they had differed in providing for Mr. *Conway*, and that in consequence of that difference, he had no plan of administration to lay before him. The King thanked his Lordship for the pains he had taken, and the regard he had shewn for his service; but added, *that he never knew the Treasury was intended for his Lordship* *.

From

* The moment the Marquis of *Rockingham* came out of the King's closet, Lord *Holland* was immediately introduced to his Majesty; with whom he continued for some time.—In Lord *Bath's* pamphlet (*Seasonable Hints*, edit. 1761, p. 37), of which Mr. *Burke* says, (*Thoughts on Discontents*, edit. 1770, p. 23), “there first appeared the idea of separating the Court from the administration,”—are the following lines:—

“Though the wings of prerogative have been clipt, the influence of the Crown is greater than ever it was in any period of our history. For, when we consider in how many boroughs the Government has the voters at its command; when we consider the extensive influence of the money corporations, subscription jobbers, and contractors; the endless dependence created by the obligations conferred on the bulk of the gentlemens' families throughout the kingdom, who have relations preferred, in our navy, and numerous standing army:

when,

From the conclusion of this answer it is clear, that either the Marquis of *Rockingham* greatly mistook the Duke of *Grafton* in the conferences he had with his Grace; or that his Grace was not sufficiently candid and explicit in his conversations with the Marquis.

The Marquis of *Rockingham* waited on the Duke of *Bedford* (Thursday July 23), and expressed his desire that no difference might arise between them on account of what had passed, but that they might continue in the same union and friendship as before; which was accepted.

On Friday July 24, Mr. *Conway* attempted to renew the negociation with the Marquis of *Rockingham*, separately; but the Marquis refused to leave his friends.

when, I say, we consider how wide, how binding a dependence on the Crown is created by the above particulars; and the great, the enormous weight and influence which the Crown derives from this extensive dependence upon its favours and power; and *lord in waiting, any lord of the bed-chamber, any man, may be appointed Minister.*"

A doctrine to this effect, was the advice which Lord *Holland* gave his Majesty.

CHAP.
XXXIII.

1767.

All negotiation being now at an end, the leading persons in administration met to consider on what should be their future conduct. They all agreed to remain in their places."

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C H A P. XXXIV.

MR. TOWNSHEND RESOLVES TO BE MINISTER — DIES — LORD NORTH APPOINTED — LORD CHATHAM GOES INTO SOMERSETSHIRE — THE BEDFORD INTEREST JOIN THE MINISTRY — DUKE OF BEDFORD'S APOLOGY TO MR. GRENVILLE, AND MR. GRENVILLE'S ANSWER — LORD CHATHAM RETURNS TO HAYES — FRENCH PURCHASE COR-SICA — DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BEDFORD AND LORD SHEL-BURNE — LORD ROCHFORD RESIGNS — LORD SHELBURNE RESIGNS — FINE DIAMOND RING PRESENTED TO HIS MAJESTY — LORD ROCHFORD MADE SECRETARY OF STATE, WITH THE REASONS — LORD CHATHAM RESIGNS — LORD TOWNSHEND CONTINUED IN IRELAND.

MR. TOWNSHEND observing, that no notice had been taken of him in the preceding negotiation for a change of ministers, resolved to resent this contempt, with which he had been treated. Administration had been for some time without a leader,

K. 3

and

CHAP.
XXXIV.1767.
Mr. Town-
shend re-
solves to be
Minister.

Dies.

and was still considered to be in that subordinate capacity. Lord *Chatham* was thought to be irrecoverable. This situation seemed to afford him an opportunity for the uncontrouled exercise of his talents. He determined to embrace it. Therefore he instantly joined the Court, with the most full and explicit declaration of sincerity *. His alliance was favourably received; and he gave a proof of his power, by creating his lady an English Peerefs, with the remainder to his son. Had he lived, he would have been first Lord of the Treasury before the ensuing session of Parliament; and Mr. *Yorke* was to have been Chancellor. His death, which happened early in the month of September, threw both the Court and the Ministry into fresh difficulties. Every effort had been made to form a new administration in vain. Every party had been solicited, individuals separately, and connections jointly, without success. But there was one part of the Royal Family that had not publicly appeared in any of these negotiations: this was the *Princess of Wales*.

* He brought in the bill laying a duty upon tea in America. (See Appendix U.)

Mr.

Mr. *Townshend's* place of Chancellor of the Exchequer was offered to several Gentlemen, who refused to accept of it. At length it was thought of giving it to Lord *Barrington*, *pro tempore*. Lord *Mansfield* attempted to open a negotiation with the Duke of *Bedford*. But his Grace refused to enter into any separate treaty. Lord *North*, who, during Mr. *Grenville's* administration, had been entrusted with all the motions against Mr. *Wilkes*, was desired to succeed Mr. *Townshend*, but he declined it. The *Princess of Wales* went to the King. His Lordship was again entreated—he took time to consider of it—he consulted his father.—After hesitating three weeks, he yielded. The *Princess's* influence prevailed. Mr. *Thomas Townshend*, now Lord *Sydney*, succeeded Lord *North* at the Pay-office, and Mr. *Jenkinson* succeeded Mr. *Townshend* at the Treasury.

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XXXIV.

1767.

Lord North
appointed.

In making this arrangement, no communication was had with Lord *Chatham*, by either the Court, or the Ministry. As soon as his health permitted, he retired into *Somersetshire*. His departure from the vicinity

Lord Chatham goes to
Somersetshire.

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XXXIV.

1767.

nity of the metropolis, though he had not been consulted in any business whatever, was considered by the Ministry as a kind of dereliction. However, he continued to hold the Privy Seal.

The Duke of *Grafton*, who sometime ago wished to resign, on account of Lord *Chatham's* infirmity *, now changed his opinion; but Lord *Northington* and General *Conway* still expressing their desire to resign, his Grace resolved to try the friends of the Duke of *Bedford* once more. If they had refused, he must have resigned, and a new administration must have been formed. But the persons to whom his Grace made his offers, could not withstand the temptation any longer; they separated from their friends and allies; thereby preventing the appointment of an able and powerful administration, and bargained to support the present, which seemed to consist of the remnants and refuse of several parties. Lord *Gower* was made

Bedford
interest
join the
Ministry.

* Lord *Bristol* gave the same reason for resigning the Lieutenancy of Ireland at the end of July, "That he had no hope of having the advice, direction, and assistance of Lord *Chatham*." Upon which Lord *Townshend* was appointed.

Lord

Lord President, in the room of Lord *North-
ington*; Lord *Weymouth* Secretary of State,
in the room of Mr. *Conway*; Mr. *Rigby*
Vice-treasurer of Ireland, in the room of
Mr. *Oswald*, who had a large pension and a
lucrative reversion. Lord *Hillsborough* was
made Secretary of State for America *. Lord
Sandwich made Postmaster, &c. While the
negotiation for these changes was under con-
sideration, the Duke of *Bedford* said to Mr.
Grenville, ' That he hoped it would not be
' considered as a breach of good faith, if his
' friends thought themselves at liberty to

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XXXIV.
1767.

D. of Bed-
ford's ap-
ology.

* The creation of this new office, and the character of the noble Lord who was appointed to it, were such strong marks of the designs, the plan, and the resolution taken, with respect to the Colonies, that an alarm instantly went forth amongst them. Nothing could more clearly signify, that the Court were preparing to make them the objects of some extraordinary measure—since another Secretary of State, with a complete establishment of office, had been appointed separately and distinctly, for this department—at a time of great inconvenience to his Majesty—when the Civil List was deeply in arrear. His Lordship's first important act of office, was sending Lord *Bottetourt*, Governor of Virginia; and his apology for it was, *That the nomination came from a higher authority.*

Lord *Chesterfield* says in his Letters, that Lord *Bute* was backwards and forwards at this time—from Luton to London.

“ accept

CHAP.
XXXIV.

1767.

Mr. Gren-
ville's an-
swer.

“accept of any offers which might be made
“to them of public employments.”

Mr. *Grenville* replied, “That he left to his
“Grace’s own judgment, whether, setting
“every private compact and agreement aside,
“the accession of his friends to the present
“Ministry, was not a breach of good faith to
“themselves, and to the public?”

Lord Chat-
ham re-
turns to
Hayes.

1768.

Before these negotiations were concluded,
Lord *Chatbam* returned from Somersetshire
to his old seat, at Hayes, in Kent; but so ex-
ceedingly ill and infirm, he was quite unable
to transact any business. Early in the month
of February 1768, the Privy Seal being offi-
cially necessary, was put into commission for
a few weeks, but in the month of March it
was re-delivered to him. The Duke of
Grafton, who had been to him the most obse-
quious of men, and was now proceeding at
the helm without that pilot, whom he lately
deemed indispensable, did not venture to turn
him out, though Lord *Bristol* and Lord *Eg-*
mont were candidates for his place.

Parliament

Parliament met on the 24th of November 1767, and was dissolved on the 12th of March 1768. Lord *Chatham* did not attend during the session.

CHAP.

XXXIV.

1768:

A few weeks before the dissolution of Parliament, Mr. *Wilkes* returned to England, and at the general election, was elected Member for the county of Middlesex. All the circumstances of which have been amply related in several publications.

During the last year the French Court purchased of the Genoese, the claim of that republic to the island of Corfica. And this year a French army landed on the island to take possession of it. This was an unprecedented kind of purchase. The French might, with the same propriety, have purchased the Spanish claim to the Netherlands, or Jamaica. This addition to the French monarchy, alarmed the courts of London and Turin. Mr. *George Pitt*, (afterwards Lord *Rivers*), the British Minister at Turin, have resigned at the general election, on the promise of a peerage, the Ministry were divided on the appointment of a successor.

French
purchase
Corfica.

Lord

CHAP.
XXXIV.

1768.
Difference
between
the Duke
of Bedford
and Lord
Shelburne.

Lord *Lansdown*, then Lord *Shelburne*, was for Lord *Tankerville**, and the Duke of *Bedford* for Sir *W. Lynch*. The latter was appointed. But this was not the only instance in which the Secretary of State had been over-ruled, in the affair of *Corfica*. He considered the accession of *Corfica* to France, an object of importance to Great Britain; and being deeply impressed with this opinion, he instructed Lord *Rochford*, the British Minister at the French court, to remonstrate strongly against this acquisition to France. The French minister treated the remonstrance with contempt. The fact is, he knew the sentiments of the British Court better than the British Minister. In a short time, Lord *Rochford* found that his instruction were disavowed by his own court. Upon receiving information he resigned his diplomatic character, and returned to London. The Secretary of State now discovering the dupe he had been made, and the deceptions

Ld. Roch-
ford re-
signs.

* His Lordship was one of the five Lords who voted against the American Declaratory Bill in 1766. The other four were the Lords *Cornwallis**, *Torrington*, *Shelburne*, and *Camden*.

* For this vote Lord Chatham made Dr. *Cornwallis* Archbishop of Canterbury.

which

which had been practised upon him, resigned also *. When the court of Turin saw that the British cabinet were indifferent to the aggrandizement of France, the King of Sardinia immediately attached himself to the house of Bourbon. Upon the resignation of Lord *Lansdown*, Lord *Rockford* was made Secretary of State, in the month of October 1768. But to relieve the French minister from the indelicacy of corresponding with a person whose veracity he had disputed, Lord *Weymouth* was removed from the Northren, and placed in the Southren Department, and Lord *Rockford* was made successor to Lord *Weymouth*.

CHAP.
XXXIV.1768.
Lord Shelburne resigns.

Ld. Rockford made Secretary of State.

* But Sir *John Macpherson* in his memorial, [printed in the answer to the letter from *Mahomed Ali Chan*. Appendix, page xii.] says, "the Earl of *Shelburne* was dismissed at the instigation of the Duke of *Grafton*." We learn also from this memorial, That his Majesty was graciously pleased to receive from the Nabob of *Arcot*, whose forts are garrisoned by our troops, and whose army is commanded by our officers, a fine diamond ring, through the hands of Governor *Palk*. The world is not ignorant of many other magnificent presents from the East. But as the Governor was once in holy orders, the ceremony of investing the royal finger with this mystic sign of alliance, may be considered as something divine.

Lord

CHAP.
XXXIV.1768.
With the
reasons,

Lord *Rochford* was made Secretary of State through fear, not through friendship. The chiefs of the interior Cabinet dreaded his laying open the scene of negotiation at Paris. If he had laid this information before Parliament, the whole machinery of the ministry must have fallen to pieces. The system of a Double-Cabinet must have become so apparent to the whole nation, and the hypocrisy of the Court so perfectly unveiled, that it may be presumed, from the ordinary feelings of mankind to repeated insults and indignities, that no man of the smallest spark of honour, who was not leagued with the Court, as *party* in some criminal transaction, or deeply distressed in the means of subsistence, would continue one moment to uphold, or connive at, a system, that had for its objects, the debasement of the English nobility, the extension of the power of the Crown, and the humiliation of the pride of the nation.—But Lord ***** wanted another place, and upon condition of his silence, he was gratified. Thus the French got Corsica. What they gave for it, the prudence

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prudence of the parties has hitherto concealed*,

CH A P.
XXXIV.
1768.

Lord *Chatham* had for some time entertained thoughts of resigning. This event decided him. The appointment of Lord *Hillsborough* Secretary of State for the Colonies, was such an outrage of his American system (see appendix W.) and the achievement of *Corfica* by France, was such an abandonment of his European policy, that they were the principal causes of his resign-

Lord Chat-
ham re-
signs.

* On the first of August 1768, (the anniversary of the Hanoverian succession) Lord *Bute* set out for the Barges in the South of France. In the succeeding winter a violent dispute arising between Lord *Townshend*, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and several of the great Lords of that kingdom, the ministry conceived it necessary to change the Lord Lieutenant; but they could not agree in the choice of a successor. The Duke of *Bedford* was for Lord *Sandwich*, and the Duke of *Grafton* for Lord *Harcourt*. The disagreement occasioned the return of Lord *Bute* in the autumn of the year 1769. He settled the difference between these Dukes, by not accepting the recommendation of either; but continuing Lord *Townshend*, who had been appointed under his own influence. Their Graces submitted to his controul; and then he returned to the Continent. This accounts for Lord *Townshend* staying in Ireland four years, being the time of the usual residence of two Lord Lieutenants.

nation

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XXXIV.

1768.

nation. He did not goth Court when he resigned, but sent the Privy Seal by Lord Camden.

This was the last place he held under the Crown.

His resignation was an event that had been long expected, and therefore it occasioned no surprise to the public, nor distress to the ministry. The Duke of Grafton having completed his alliance with the *Bedford interest*, estimated himself fully adequate to all the difficulties and burthens of the state. Lord Camden attached himself to his Grace, and continued in office.

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RECONCILIATION BETWEEN LORD CHATHAM AND LORD TEMPLE---LORD CHATHAM'S SPEECH ON THE ADDRESS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1770.

CHAP.
XXXV.
1768.

Lord Temple and Lord Chatham reconciled.

CHAP.
XXXV.

1768.

had no more differences afterwards; and they were, if possible, more affectionately united than ever they had been. Mr. *Grenville* perfectly acceded to the union.

Parliament met on the eighth of November. A great part of the session was occupied by the several expulsions of Mr. *Wilkes*, and questions concerning the Middlesex election. Lord *Chatham* did not attend during the session. Rest and retirement he found were the best preservatives against the return of his disorder. But to his friends he declared, in the strongest terms, his thorough detestation of those measures. Petitions from several counties, cities, and large towns, were presented to the King, against them, but without any effect. The dearest rights of the people were sacrificed to personal resentment. The corruption of Parliament is become a grievance of the first magnitude. When the Court can command the Legislature, the Constitution is at an end. The case of the Middlesex election, is an indisputable evidence of this melancholy truth.

The

The session closed on the ninth of May,
1769.

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XXXV.

1769.

The respite which Lord *Chatbam* gave himself from all kinds of business, and the happiness he enjoyed in the reconciliation of his relations, so largely contributed to the restoration of his health, that, on the approach of the following session, he found himself able to attend the labours of Parliament.

The next session was opened on the ninth day of January, 1770. The discontents which pervaded the whole nation, stimulated him to the most vigorous exertion of his talents. He considered the conduct of the House of Commons, on all the questions concerning the Middlesex election, as wholly unconstitutional. He attended on the first day. His speeches on that day have fortunately met with a better fate than many others of his speeches; for they were accurately taken by a gentleman of strong memory, now a member of the House of Commons, and from his notes they are here printed.

1770.

CHAP.

XXXV.

1770.

The motion for an Address was made by the Duke of *Ancafter*, and feconded by Lord *Dunmore*.

Ld. Chat-
ham's
fpeech on
the address.
M. S.

‘ Earl of *Cbatbam*, after fome compli-
‘ ment to the Duke of *Ancafter*, took notice
‘ how happy it would have made him to
‘ have been able to concur with the noble
‘ Duke in every part of an Address, which
‘ was meant as a mark of refpect and duty
‘ to the Crown—professed personal obliga-
‘ tions to the King, and veneration for him;
‘ that, though he might differ from the
‘ noble Duke in form of expreffing his duty
‘ to the Crown, he hoped he fhould give his
‘ Majefty a more fubftantial proof of his at-
‘ tachment than if he agreed with the mo-
‘ tion. That, at his time of life, and loaded
‘ as he was with infirmities, he might, per-
‘ haps, have flood excufed if he had con-
‘ tinued in his retirement, and never taken
‘ part again in public affairs. But that the
‘ alarming ftate of the nation called upon
‘ him, forced him to come forward once
‘ more, and to execute that duty which he
‘ owed to God, to his fovereign, and to his
‘ country; that he was determined to per-
‘ form

‘ form it, even at the hazard of his life.
‘ That there never was a period which
‘ called more forcibly than the present, for
‘ the serious attention and consideration of
‘ that House; that as they were the grand
‘ hereditary counsellors of the Crown, it
‘ was particularly their duty, at a crisis of
‘ such importance and danger, to lay before
‘ their Sovereign the true state and condition
‘ of his subjects, the discontent which uni-
‘ versally prevailed amongst them, the
‘ distresses under which they laboured, the
‘ injuries they complained of, and the true
‘ causes of this unhappy state of affairs.

‘ That he had heard with great concern
‘ of the distemper among the cattle, and was
‘ very ready to give his approbation to those
‘ prudent measures which the Council had
‘ taken for putting a stop to so dreadful a
‘ calamity. That he was satisfied there was
‘ a power in some degree arbitrary, with
‘ which the Constitution trusted the Crown,
‘ to be made use of under correction of the
‘ Legislature, and at the hazard of the Mini-
‘ ster, upon any sudden emergency, or un-
‘ foreseen calamity, which might threaten
‘ the

CHAP.
XXXV.

1750.

‘ the welfare of the people, or the safety of
 ‘ the state. That on this principle he had
 ‘ himself advised a measure, which he knew
 ‘ was not strictly legal; but he had recom-
 ‘ mended it as a measure of necessity, to
 ‘ save a starving people from famine, and
 ‘ had submitted to the judgment of his
 ‘ country.

‘ That he was extremely glad to hear
 ‘ what he owned he did not believe when
 ‘ he came into the House, that the King
 ‘ had reason to expect that his endeavours
 ‘ to secure the peace of this country would
 ‘ be successful, for that certainly a peace
 ‘ was never so necessary as at a time when we
 ‘ were torn to pieces by divisions and distrac-
 ‘ tions in every part of his Majesty’s domi-
 ‘ nions. That he had always considered the
 ‘ late peace, however necessary in the then
 ‘ exhausted condition of this country, as by
 ‘ no means equal in point of advantage to
 ‘ what we had a right to expect from the
 ‘ successes of the war, and from the still
 ‘ more exhausted condition of our enemies.
 ‘ That having deserted our allies, we were
 ‘ left without alliances, and during a peace
 of

' of seven years, had been every moment on
 ' the verge of a war: that, on the contrary,
 ' France had attentively cultivated her al-
 ' lies, particularly Spain, by every mark of
 ' cordiality and respect. That if a war was
 ' unavoidable, we must enter into it without
 ' a single ally, while the whole House of
 ' Bourbon was united within itself, and sup-
 ' ported by the closest connexions with the
 ' principal powers in Europe. That the
 ' situation of our foreign affairs was un-
 ' doubtedly a matter of moment, and highly
 ' worthy their Lordships consideration; but
 ' that he declared with grief, there were
 ' other matters still more important, and
 ' more urgently demanding their attention.
 ' He meant the distractions and divisions
 ' which prevailed in every part of the empire.
 ' He lamented the unhappy measure which
 ' had divided the colonies from the mother
 ' country, and which he feared had drawn
 ' them into excesses which he could not
 ' justify. He owned his natural partiality
 ' to America, and was inclined to make al-
 ' lowance even for those excesses. That
 ' they ought to be treated with tenderness;
 ' for in his sense they were ebullitions of li-

bonds

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' berty

CHAP.
XXXV.

1770.

‘ berty, which broke out upon the skin, and
‘ were a sign, if not of perfect health, at
‘ least of a vigorous constitution, and must
‘ not be driven in too suddenly, lest they
‘ should strike to the heart. He professed
‘ himself entirely ignorant of the present
‘ state of America, therefore should be cau-
‘ tious of giving any opinion of the measures
‘ fit to be pursued with respect to that coun-
‘ try. That it was a maxim he had observed
‘ through life, when he had lost way, to
‘ stop short, lest by proceeding without
‘ knowledge, and advancing (as he feared a
‘ noble Duke had done) from one false step
‘ to another, he should wind himself into
‘ an inextricable labyrinth, and never be
‘ able to recover the right road again. That
‘ as the House had yet no materials before
‘ them, by which they might judge of the
‘ proceedings of the colonies, he strongly
‘ objected to their passing that heavy censure
‘ upon them, which was conveyed in the
‘ word *unwarrantable*, contained in the pro-
‘ posed address. That it was passing a sen-
‘ tence without hearing the cause, or being
‘ acquainted with facts, and might expose
‘ the proceedings of the House to be received
‘ abroad

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XXXV.
1770.

‘ abroad with indifference or disrespect.
 ‘ That if *unwarrantable* meant any thing, it
 ‘ must mean illegal; and how could their
 ‘ Lordships decide that proceedings, which
 ‘ had not been stated to them in any shape,
 ‘ were contrary to law? That what he had
 ‘ heard of the combinations in America, and
 ‘ of their success in supplying themselves
 ‘ with goods of their own manufacture, had
 ‘ indeed alarmed him much for the com-
 ‘ mercial interests of the mother country;
 ‘ but he could not conceive in what sense
 ‘ they could be called illegal, much less how
 ‘ a declaration of that House could remove
 ‘ the evil. That they were *dangerous* in-
 ‘ deed, and he greatly wished to have that
 ‘ word substituted for *unwarrantable*. That
 ‘ we must look for other remedies. That
 ‘ the discontent of two millions of people
 ‘ deserved consideration; and the foundation
 ‘ of it ought to be removed. That this was
 ‘ the true way of putting a stop to combina-
 ‘ tions and manufactures in that country;
 ‘ but that he reserved himself to give his
 ‘ opinion more particularly upon this sub-
 ‘ ject, when authentic information of the
 ‘ state of America should be laid before the
 ‘ House;

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1770.

' House; declaring only for the present, that
 ' we should be cautious how we invaded the
 ' liberties of any part of our fellow-subjects,
 ' however remote in situation, or unable to
 ' make resistance. That liberty was a plant
 ' that deserved to be cherished; that he lov-
 ' ed the tree, and wished well to every branch
 ' of it. That, like the vine in the Scripture,
 ' it had spread from east to west, had em-
 ' braced whole nations with its branches,
 ' and sheltered them under its leaves. That
 ' the Americans had purchased their li-
 ' berty at a dear rate, since they had quitted
 ' their native country, and gone in search
 ' of freedom to a desert.
 ' That the parts of the address which he
 ' had already touched upon, however im-
 ' portant in themselves, bore no comparison
 ' with that which still remained. That in-
 ' deed there never was a time, at which the
 ' unanimity recommended to them by the
 ' King, was more necessary than at present;
 ' but he differed very much from the noble
 ' Duke, with respect to the propriety or
 ' utility of those general assurances contain-
 ' ed in the latter part of the address. That
 ' the

‘ the most perfect harmony in that House
‘ would have but little effect towards quiet-
‘ ing the minds of the people, and remov-
‘ ing their discontent. That it was the duty
‘ of that House to enquire into the causes
‘ of the notorious dissatisfaction expressed by
‘ the whole English nation, to state those
‘ causes to their Sovereign, and then to give
‘ him their best advice in what manner he
‘ ought to act. That the privileges of the
‘ House of Peers, however transcendant,
‘ however appropriated to them, stood in
‘ fact upon the broad bottom of the people.
‘ They were no longer in the condition of
‘ the barons, their ancestors, who had se-
‘ parate interests and separate strength to
‘ support them. The rights of the greatest
‘ and of the meanest subjects now stood upon
‘ the same foundation: the security of law,
‘ common to all. It was therefore their
‘ highest interest, as well as their duty, to
‘ watch over, and guard the people; for,
‘ when the people had lost their rights, those
‘ of the Peerage would soon become insigni-
‘ ficant. To argue from experience, he
‘ begged leave to refer their Lordships to a
‘ most important passage in history, described
‘ by

CHAP.
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‘ by a man of great abilities, Mr. *Robertson*.
 ‘ This writer, in his life of *Charles the Fifth*
 ‘ (a great, ambitious, wicked man), informs
 ‘ us, that the Peers of Castile were so far
 ‘ cajoled and seduced by him, as to join him
 ‘ in overturning that part of the Cortez,
 ‘ which represented the people. They were
 ‘ weak enough to adopt, and base enough to
 ‘ be flattered with an expectation, that by
 ‘ assisting their master in this iniquitous pur-
 ‘ pose, they should encrease their own strength
 ‘ and importance. What was the conse-
 ‘ quence? They exchanged the constitutional
 ‘ authority of Peers, for the titular vanity of
 ‘ *Grandeess*. They were no longer a part of
 ‘ a Parliament, for *that* they had destroyed;
 ‘ and when they pretended to have an opi-
 ‘ nion as *Grandeess*, he told them he did not
 ‘ understand it; and naturally enough,
 ‘ when they had surrendered their authori-
 ‘ ty, treated their advice with contempt.
 ‘ The consequences did not stop here. He
 ‘ made use of the people whom he had
 ‘ enslaved to enslave others, and employed
 ‘ the strength of the Castilians to destroy
 ‘ the rights of their free neighbours of Ar-
 ‘ ragon.

‘ My

' My Lords, let this example be a lesson to
 ' us all. Let us be cautious how we admit
 ' an idea, that *our* rights stand on a footing
 ' different from those of the people. Let
 ' us be cautious how we invade the liber-
 ' ties of our fellow-subjects, however mean,
 ' however remote; for be assured, my Lords,
 ' that in whatever part of the empire you
 ' suffer slavery to be established, whether it
 ' be in America or in Ireland, or here at
 ' home, you will find it a disease which
 ' spreads by contact, and soon reaches from
 ' the extremities to the heart. The man
 ' who has lost his own freedom, becomes
 ' from that moment an instrument in the
 ' hands of an ambitious prince, to destroy
 ' the freedom of others. These reflections,
 ' my Lords, are but too applicable to our
 ' present situation. The liberty of the
 ' subject is invaded, not only in provinces,
 ' but here at home. The English people
 ' are loud in their complaints: they proclaim
 ' with one voice the injuries they have recei-
 ' ved: they demand redress, and depend
 ' upon it, my Lords, that one way or other,
 ' they *will have* redress. They will never
 ' return to a state of tranquillity until they
 ' are

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‘ *are redressed; nor ought they*; for in my
 ‘ judgement, my Lords, and I speak it
 ‘ boldly, it were better for them to perish in
 ‘ a glorious contention for their rights, than
 ‘ to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the
 ‘ expence of a single iota of the Constitution.
 ‘ Let me entreat your Lordships, then, in the
 ‘ name of all the duties you owe to your
 ‘ Sovereign, to your country, and to your-
 ‘ selves, to perform that office to which
 ‘ you are called by the Constitution; by in-
 ‘ forming his Majesty truly of the condition
 ‘ of his subjects, and of the real cause of
 ‘ their dissatisfaction. I have considered the
 ‘ matter with most serious attention; and as
 ‘ I have not in my own breast the smallest
 ‘ doubt that the present universal discon-
 ‘ tent of the nation arises from the proceed-
 ‘ ings of the House of Commons upon the
 ‘ expulsion of Mr. *Wilkes*, I think that we
 ‘ ought, in our address, to state that matter to
 ‘ the King. I have drawn up an amend-
 ‘ ment to the address, which I beg leave to
 ‘ submit to the consideration of the House:

“ And for these great and essential pur-
 poses, we will with all convenient speed take
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into our most serious consideration, the causes of the discontents which prevail in so many parts of your Majesty's dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the House of Commons, touching the incapacity of *John Wilkes*, Esq. (expelled by that House) to be elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, thereby refusing (by a resolution of one branch of the Legislature only) to the subject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative."

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' The cautious and guarded terms in
' which this amendment is drawn up, will,
' I hope, reconcile every noble Lord who
' hears me to my opinion; and as I think
' no man can dispute the truth of the facts,
' so I am persuaded no man can dispute the
' propriety and necessity of laying those facts
' before his Majesty.'

' Lord *Mansfield**. He began with affirm-
' ing, that he had never delivered any opi-

* This noble Lord's answer (taken also from the same Gentleman's notes) it is necessary to insert, on account of Lord *Chatham*'s reply, which follows.

' nion

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' nion upon the legality of the proceedings
 ' of the House of Commons on the Middle-
 ' sex election, nor should he now, notwith-
 ' standing any thing that might be expected
 ' from him. That he had locked it up in
 ' his own breast, and it should die with
 ' him : that he wished to avoid speaking on
 ' the subject ; but that the motion made by
 ' the noble Lord, was of a nature too ex-
 ' traordinary and too alarming, to suffer him
 ' to be silent. He acknowledged the un-
 ' happy distracted state of the nation ; but
 ' he was happy enough to affirm, with a
 ' safe conscience, that he had no ways
 ' contributed to it. That, in his own opi-
 ' nion, declarations of the law made by
 ' either House of Parliament were always
 ' attended with bad effects : he had con-
 ' stantly opposed them whenever he had an
 ' opportunity, and in his judicial capacity
 ' thought himself bound never to pay the
 ' least regard to them. That although
 ' thoroughly convinced of the illegality of
 ' general warrants, which, indeed, naming
 ' no persons, were no warrants at all, he was
 ' sorry to see the House of Commons by their
 ' vote declare them to be illegal. That it
 ' looked

' looked like a legislative act, which yet had
 ' no force nor effect as a law : for supposing
 ' the House had declared them to be legal,
 ' the Courts in Westminster would never-
 ' theless have been bound to declare the
 ' contrary ; and consequently to throw a
 ' disrespect upon the vote of the House : but
 ' he made a wide distinction between the
 ' general declarations of law, and the par-
 ' ticular decision which might be made by
 ' either House, in their judicial capacity,
 ' upon a case coming regularly before them,
 ' and properly the subject of their jurisdic-
 ' tion. That here they did not act as Le-
 ' gislators, pronouncing abstractly and gene-
 ' rally what the law was, and for the di-
 ' rections of others ; but as Judges, drawing
 ' the law from the several sources from
 ' which it ought to be drawn, for their
 ' own guidance in deciding the particular
 ' question before them, and applying it
 ' strictly to the decision of that question.
 ' That, for his own part, wherever the Sta-
 ' tute law was silent, he knew not where
 ' to look for the law of Parliament, or for
 ' a definition of the privileges of either House,
 ' except in the proceedings and decisions of

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' each House respectively. That he knew
 ' of no parliamentary code to judge of ques-
 ' tions depending upon the judicial authority
 ' of Parliament, but the practice of each House,
 ' moderated or extended according to the wis-
 ' dom of the House, and accommodated to the
 ' cases before them. That a question touching
 ' the seat of a Member in the Lower House,
 ' could only be determined by that House :
 ' there was no other Court where it could
 ' be tried, nor to which there could be an
 ' appeal from their decision. That where-
 ' ever a Court of Justice is supreme, and
 ' their sentence final (which he apprehended
 ' no man would dispute was the case in the
 ' House of Commons, in matters touching
 ' elections), the determination of that Court
 ' must be received and submitted to as the
 ' law of the land; for if there be no appeal
 ' from a judicial sentence, where shall that
 ' sentence be questioned, or how can it be
 ' reversed? He admitted that Judges might
 ' be corrupt, and their sentences erroneous ;
 ' but these were cases, for which, in re-
 ' spect to Supreme Courts, the Constitution
 ' had provided no remedy. That if they
 ' wilfully determined wrong, it was ini-
 ' quitous indeed, and in the highest degree
 ' detestable.

' detestable. But it was a crime, of which
 ' no human tribunal could take cognizance,
 ' and it lay between God and their
 ' consciences. That he avoided entering
 ' into the merits of the late decision of the
 ' House of Commons, because it was a
 ' subject he was convinced the Lords had
 ' no right to enquire into, or discuss. That
 ' the amendment proposed by the noble
 ' Lord threatened the most pernicious con-
 ' sequences to the nation, as it manifestly
 ' violated every form and law of Parliament,
 ' was a gross attack upon the privileges of the
 ' House of Commons, and, instead of pro-
 ' moting that harmony which the King had
 ' recommended, must inevitably throw the
 ' whole country into a flame. That there
 ' never was an instance of the Lords en-
 ' quiring into the proceedings of the House
 ' of Commons with respect to their own
 ' Members; much less of their taking upon
 ' them to censure such proceedings, or of
 ' their advising the Crown to take notice of
 ' them. If, indeed, it be the noble Lord's
 ' design to quarrel with the House of Com-
 ' mons, I confess it will have that effect,
 ' and immediately. The Lower House will

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‘ undoubtedly assert their privileges, and
 ‘ give you vote for vote. I leave it, there-
 ‘ fore, to your Lordships, to consider the
 ‘ fatal effects which may arise in such a
 ‘ conjuncture as the present, either from an
 ‘ open breach between the two Houses of
 ‘ Parliament, or between the King and the
 ‘ House of Commons. But, my Lords;
 ‘ if I could suppose it were even adviseable
 ‘ to promote a disagreement between the
 ‘ two Houses, I would still recommend it
 ‘ to you to take care to be in the right;
 ‘ whenever I am forced into a quarrel, I
 ‘ will always endeavour to have justice on
 ‘ my side. Now, my Lords, admitting the
 ‘ House of Commons to have done wrong,
 ‘ will it mend the matter for your Lordships
 ‘ to do ten times worse? and that I am
 ‘ clearly convinced would be the case, if
 ‘ your Lordships were obliged to declare
 ‘ any opinion of your own, or offer any
 ‘ advice to the Crown, on a matter in
 ‘ which, by the Constitution of this coun-
 ‘ try, you have no right whatever to inter-
 ‘ fere. I will go farther, my Lords; I
 ‘ will affirm, that such a step would be as
 ‘ ineffectual as it would be irregular. Suppose
 ‘ the

‘ the King, in consequence of our advice,
 ‘ should dissolve the Parliament (for that, I
 ‘ presume, is the true object of the noble
 ‘ Lord’s amendment), the next House of
 ‘ Commons that meets, if they know any
 ‘ thing of their own privileges, or the laws of
 ‘ this country, will undoubtedly, on the
 ‘ very first day of the session, take notice of
 ‘ our proceedings, and declare them to be
 ‘ a violation of the rights of the Commons.
 ‘ They must do so, my Lords; or they will
 ‘ shamefully betray their constituents and
 ‘ themselves. A noble Lord (Lord *March-*
 ‘ *mont*) near me, has proposed, that we
 ‘ should demand a conference with the
 ‘ other House. It would be a more mode-
 ‘ rate step, I confess, but equally ineffectual.
 ‘ The Commons would never submit to dis-
 ‘ cuss their own privileges with the Lords.
 ‘ They would not come to a conference upon
 ‘ such a subject; or if they did come, they
 ‘ would soon break it up with indignation.
 ‘ If, then, the Commons have done wrong,
 ‘ I know of no remedy, but either that
 ‘ the same power should undo the mischief
 ‘ they have done, or that the case should be
 ‘ provided for by an act of the legislature.

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‘ That, indeed, might be effectual. But
 ‘ whether such a remedy be proper or ne-
 ‘ cessary in the present case, or whether,
 ‘ indeed, it be attainable, considering that
 ‘ the other House must give their consent
 ‘ to it, is not a question now before us.
 ‘ If such a bill should be proposed, it will
 ‘ be regular and parliamentary, and we
 ‘ may then, with propriety, enter into the
 ‘ legal merits of the decision of the House of
 ‘ Commons. As for the amendment pro-
 ‘ posed by the noble Lord, I object to it as
 ‘ irregular and unparliamentary. I am per-
 ‘ suaded, that it will be attended with very
 ‘ pernicious consequences to this country,
 ‘ and that it cannot possibly produce a sin-
 ‘ gle good one,

Lord
Chatham.
M. S.

Earl of *Chatham*. My Lords, there is
 ‘ one plain maxim, to which I have invari-
 ‘ ably adhered through life: That in every
 ‘ question, in which my liberty, or my
 ‘ property were concerned, I should consult
 ‘ and be determined by the dictates of com-
 ‘ mon sense. I confess, my Lords, that I
 ‘ am apt to distrust the refinements of learn-
 ‘ ing, because I have seen the ablest and the
 ‘ most

' most learned men equally liable to deceive
 ' themselves, and to mislead others. The
 ' condition of human nature would be la-
 ' mentable indeed, if nothing less than the
 ' greatest learning and talents, which fall to
 ' the share of so small a number of men,
 ' were sufficient to direct our judgment and
 ' our conduct. But Providence has taken
 ' better care of our happiness, and given us,
 ' in the simplicity of common sense, a rule
 ' for our direction, by which we shall never
 ' be misled. I confess, my Lords, I had
 ' no other guide in drawing up the amend-
 ' ment, which I submitted to your consi-
 ' deration; and before I heard the opinion of
 ' the noble Lord who spoke last, I did not
 ' conceive that it was even within the li-
 ' mits of possibility for the greatest human
 ' genius, the most subtile understanding,
 ' or the acuteest wit, so strangely to misre-
 ' present my meaning, and to give it an in-
 ' terpretation so entirely foreign from what
 ' I intended to express, and from that sense
 ' which the very terms of the amendment
 ' plainly and distinctly carry with them.
 ' If there be the smallest foundation for the
 ' censure thrown upon me by that noble

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‘ Lord, if, either expressly, or by the most
 ‘ distant implication, I have said or insinuated
 ‘ any part of what the noble Lord has charged
 ‘ me with, discard my opinions for ever,
 ‘ discard the motion with contempt.

‘ My Lords, I must beg the indulgence
 ‘ of the House. Neither will my health per-
 ‘ mit me, nor do I pretend to be qualified
 ‘ to follow that learned Lord minutely
 ‘ through the whole of his argument. No
 ‘ man is better acquainted with his abilities
 ‘ and learning, nor has a greater respect
 ‘ for them, than I have. I have had the
 ‘ pleasure of sitting with him in the other
 ‘ House, and always listened to him with at-
 ‘ tention. I have not now lost a word of
 ‘ what he said, NOR DID I EVER. Upon
 ‘ the present question, I meet him without
 ‘ fear. The evidence which truth carries
 ‘ with it, is superior to all argument; it
 ‘ neither wants the support, nor dreads the
 ‘ opposition of the greatest abilities. If
 ‘ there be a single word in the amendment
 ‘ to justify the interpretation which the
 ‘ noble Lord has been pleased to give it, I
 ‘ am ready to renounce the whole: let it be

‘ read,



' read, my Lords ; let it speak for itself.
 ' (*It was read*)—In what instance does it
 ' interfere with the privileges of the House
 ' of Commons ? In what respect does it
 ' question their jurisdiction, or suppose an
 ' authority in this House to arraign the
 ' justice of their sentence ? I am sure that
 ' every Lord who hears me, will bear me
 ' witness, that I said not one word touching
 ' the merits of the Middlesex election ; so far
 ' from conveying any opinion upon that
 ' matter in the amendment, I did not
 ' even in discourse deliver my own senti-
 ' ments upon it. I did not say that the
 ' House of Commons had done either right
 ' or wrong ; but, when his Majesty was
 ' pleased to recommend it to us to cultivate
 ' unanimity amongst ourselves, I thought it
 ' the duty of this House, as the great here-
 ' ditary council of the Crown, to state to
 ' his Majesty the distracted condition of his
 ' dominions, together with the events which
 ' had destroyed unanimity among his subjects.
 ' But, my Lords, I stated those events merely
 ' as facts, without the smallest addition either
 ' of censure or of opinion. They are facts,
 ' my Lords, which I am not only convinced
 ' are

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are true, but which I know are indisputably true. For example, my Lords: will any man deny that discontents prevail in many parts of his Majesty's dominions? or that those discontents arise from the proceedings of the House of Commons touching the declared incapacity of Mr. Wilkes? 'Tis impossible; no man can deny a truth so notorious. Or will any man deny that those proceedings refused, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right? Is it not indisputably true, my Lords, that Mr. Wilkes *had* a common right, and that he lost it no other way but by a resolution of the House of Commons? My Lords, I have been tender of misrepresenting the House of Commons: I have consulted their journals, and have taken the very words of their own resolution. Do they not tell us in so many words, that Mr. Wilkes having been expelled, was thereby rendered incapable of serving in that Parliament? and is it not their resolution alone, which refuses to the subject his common right? The amendment says farther, that the electors of Middlesex are deprived of their free choice

of

' of a representative. Is this a false fact,
 ' my Lords? or have I given an unfair repre-
 ' sentation of it? Will any man presume to
 ' affirm that Colonel Luttrell is the free
 ' choice of the electors of Middlesex? We
 ' all know the contrary. We all know that
 ' Mr. Wilkes (whom I mention without
 ' either praise or censure) was the favourite
 ' of the county, and chosen, by a very great
 ' and acknowledged majority, to represent
 ' them in Parliament. If the noble Lord
 ' dislikes the manner in which these facts are
 ' stated, I shall think myself happy in being
 ' advised by him how to alter it. I am very
 ' little anxious about terms, provided the
 ' substances be preserved; and these are facts,
 ' my Lords, which I am sure will always
 ' retain their weight and importance, in what-
 ' ever form of language they are described.

' Now, my Lords, since I have been
 ' forced to enter into the explanation of an
 ' amendment, in which nothing less than
 ' the genius of penetration could have dis-
 ' covered an obscurity, and having, as I
 ' hope, redeemed myself in the opinion of the
 ' House, having redeemed my motion from
 ' the severe representation given of it by the
 ' noble

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‘ noble Lord, I must a little longer intreat
 ‘ your Lordships’ indulgence. The consti-
 ‘ tution of this country has been openly in-
 ‘ vaded in fact; and I have heard, with
 ‘ horror and astonishment, that very invasion
 ‘ defended upon principle. What is this
 ‘ mysterious power, undefined by law, un-
 ‘ known to the subject, which we must not
 ‘ approach without awe, nor speak of with-
 ‘ out reverence, which no man may question,
 ‘ and to which all men must submit? My
 ‘ Lords, I thought the slavish doctrine of
 ‘ passive obedience had long since been ex-
 ‘ ploded: and, when our kings were obliged
 ‘ to confess that their title to the crown,
 ‘ and the rule of their government, had no
 ‘ other foundation than the known laws of
 ‘ the land, I never expected to hear a divine
 ‘ right, or a divine infallibility, attributed to
 ‘ any other branch of the legislature. My
 ‘ Lords, I beg to be understood, no man re-
 ‘ spects the House of Commons more than I
 ‘ do, or would contend more strenuously than
 ‘ I would, to preserve them their just and
 ‘ legal authority. Within the bounds pre-
 ‘ scribed by the Constitution, that authority
 ‘ is necessary to the well-being of the peo-
 ‘ ple :

' ple: beyond that line every exertion of
 ' power is arbitrary, is illegal; it threatens
 ' tyranny to the people, and destruction to
 ' the state. Power without right is the most
 ' odious and detestable object that can be
 ' offered to the human imagination: it is
 ' not only pernicious to those who are sub-
 ' ject to it, but tends to its own destruction.
 ' It is what my noble friend (Lord Lyttelton)
 ' has truly described it, *Res detestabilis et*
 ' *caduca*. My Lords, I acknowledge the
 ' just power, and reverence the constitution
 ' of the House of Commons. It is for their
 ' own sakes that I would prevent their assum-
 ' ing a power which the constitution has
 ' denied them, lest, by grasping at an au-
 ' thority they have no right to, they should
 ' forfeit that which they legally possess. My
 ' Lords, I affirm that they have betrayed
 ' their constituents, and violated the consti-
 ' tution. Under pretence of declaring the
 ' law, they have *made* a law, and united in
 ' the same persons the office of legislator and
 ' of judge.

' I shall endeavour to adhere strictly to
 ' the noble Lord's doctrine, which is in-
 ' deed

' deed impossible to mistake, so far as my
 ' memory will permit me to preserve his
 ' expressions. He seems fond of the word
 ' jurisdiction; and I confess, with the force
 ' and effect which he has given it, it is a
 ' word of copious meaning and wonderful
 ' extent. If his Lordship's doctrine be well
 ' founded, we must renounce all those politi-
 ' cal maxims by which our understandings
 ' have hitherto been directed, and even the
 ' first elements of learning taught us in our
 ' schools when we were school-boys. My
 ' Lords, we knew that jurisdiction was no-
 ' thing more than *Jus dicere*; we knew that
 ' *Legem facere* and *Legem dicere* were powers
 ' clearly distinguished from each other in
 ' the nature of things, and wisely separated
 ' by the wisdom of the English constitution;
 ' but now, it seems, we must adopt a new
 ' system of thinking. The House of Com-
 ' mons, we are told, have a supreme jurif-
 ' diction; that there is no appeal from their
 ' sentence; and that wherever they are com-
 ' petent judges, their decision must be re-
 ' ceived and submitted to, as, *ipso facto*, the
 ' law of the land. My Lords, I am a plain
 ' man, and have been brought up in a reli-
 ' gious

‘ gious reverence for the original simplicity
‘ oft he laws of England. By what sophistry
‘ they have been perverted, by what artifices
‘ they have been involved in obscurity, is
‘ not for me to explain; the principles,
‘ however, of the English laws are still suf-
‘ ficiently clear: they are founded in reason,
‘ and are the master-piece of the human
‘ understanding; but it is in the text that I
‘ would look for a direction to my judgment,
‘ not in the commentaries of modern pro-
‘ fessors. The noble Lord assures us, that
‘ he knows not in what code the law of
‘ Parliament is to be found; that the House
‘ of Commons, when they act as judges,
‘ have no law to direct them but their own
‘ wisdom; that their decision is law; and if
‘ they determine wrong, the subject has
‘ no appeal but to Heaven. What then, my
‘ Lords, are all the generous efforts of our
‘ ancestors, are all those glorious conten-
‘ tions, by which they meant to secure to
‘ themselves, and to transmit to their poste-
‘ rity a known law, a certain rule of living;
‘ reduced to this conclusion, that instead of
‘ the arbitrary power of a King, we must
‘ submit to the arbitrary power of an House
‘ of

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‘ of Commons ? If this be true, what be-
 ‘ nefit do we derive from the exchange ?
 ‘ Tyranny, my Lords, is detestable in every
 ‘ shape ; but in none so formidable as when
 ‘ it is assumed and exercised by a number of
 ‘ tyrants. But, my Lords, this is not the
 ‘ fact, this is not the constitution ; we *have*
 ‘ a law of Parliament, we *have* a code in
 ‘ which every honest man may find it. We
 ‘ have Magna Charta, we have the Statute
 ‘ Book, and the Bill of Rights.

‘ If a case should arise unknown to these
 ‘ great authorities, we have still that plain
 ‘ English reason left, which is the foundation
 ‘ of all our English jurisprudence. That
 ‘ reason tells us, that every Judicial Court
 ‘ and every Political Society must be vested
 ‘ with those powers and privileges which
 ‘ are necessary for performing the office to
 ‘ which they are appointed. It tells us also,
 ‘ that no Court of Justice can have a power
 ‘ inconsistent with, or paramount to, the
 ‘ known laws of the land : that the peo-
 ‘ ple, when they choose their representatives,
 ‘ never mean to convey to them a power of
 ‘ invading the rights, or trampling upon the
 ‘ liberties

‘ liberties of those whom they represent.
 ‘ What security would they have for their
 ‘ rights, if once they admitted, that a Court
 ‘ of Judicature might determine every ques-
 ‘ tion that came before it, not by any known,
 ‘ positive law, but by the vague, indeter-
 ‘ minate, arbitrary rule, of what the noble
 ‘ Lord is pleased to call *the wisdom of the*
 ‘ *Court*? With respect to the decision of the
 ‘ Courts of Justice, I am far from denying
 ‘ them their due weight and authority; yet,
 ‘ placing them in the most respectable view,
 ‘ I still consider them, not as law, but as an
 ‘ evidence of the law; and before they can
 ‘ arrive even at that degree of authority, it
 ‘ must appear, that they are founded in, and
 ‘ confirmed by, reason; that they are sup-
 ‘ ported by precedents taken from good and
 ‘ moderate times; that they do not contra-
 ‘ dict any positive law; that they are sub-
 ‘ mitted to without reluctance by the peo-
 ‘ ple; that they are unquestioned by the le-
 ‘ gislature (which is equivalent to a tacit
 ‘ confirmation); and, what, in my judg-
 ‘ ment, is by far the most important, that
 ‘ they do not violate the spirit of the Consti-
 ‘ tution. My Lords, this is not a vague or

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' loose expression : we all know what the
 ' Constitution is ; we all know, that the first
 ' principle of it is, that the subject shall not
 ' be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one
 ' man, or body of men (less than the whole
 ' legislature), but by certain laws, to which
 ' he has virtually given his consent, which
 ' are open to him to examine, and not be-
 ' yond his ability to understand.—Now, my
 ' Lords, I affirm, and am ready to maintain,
 ' that the late decision of the House of Com-
 ' mons upon the Middlesex election, is desti-
 ' tute of every one of those properties and
 ' conditions which I hold to be essential to
 ' the legality of such a decision. It is not
 ' founded in reason ; for it carries with it a
 ' contradiction, that the representative should
 ' perform the office of the constituent body.
 ' It is not supported by a single precedent ;
 ' for the case of Sir *R. Walpole* is but a half
 ' precedent, and even that half is imperfect.
 ' Incapacity was indeed declared, but his
 ' crimes are stated as the ground of the re-
 ' solution, and his opponent was declared to
 ' be not duly elected, even after his incapa-
 ' city was established. It contradicts *Magna*
 ' *Charta* and the Bill of Rights, by which
 ' it

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' it is provided, that no subject shall be de-
 ' prived of his freehold, unless by the judg-
 ' ment of his peers, or the law of the land ;
 ' and that elections of members to serve in
 ' Parliament shall be free ; and so far is this
 ' decision from being submitted to by the
 ' people, that they have taken the strongest
 ' measures, and adopted the most positive
 ' language to express their discontent.
 ' Whether it will be questioned by the le-
 ' gislature, will depend upon your Lord-
 ' ships' resolution ; but that it violates the
 ' spirit of the Constitution, will, I think,
 ' be disputed by no man who has heard this
 ' day's debate, and who wishes well to the
 ' freedom of his country ; yet, if we are to
 ' believe the noble Lord, this great griev-
 ' ance, this manifest violation of the first
 ' principles of the Constitution, will not ad-
 ' mit of a remedy ; is not even capable of
 ' redress, unless we appeal at once to Heaven.
 ' My Lords, I have better hopes of the Con-
 ' stitution, and a firmer confidence in the
 ' wisdom and constitutional authority of this
 ' House. It is to *your* ancestors, my Lords,
 ' —it is to the English barons that we are
 ' indebted for the Laws and Constitution we
 ' possess.

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‘ possess. Their virtues were rude and un-
‘ cultivated but they were great and sincere.
‘ Their understandings were as little polish-
‘ ed as their manners, but they had hearts
‘ to distinguish right from wrong ; they had
‘ heads to distinguish truth from falsehood ;
‘ they understood the rights of humanity, and
‘ they had spirit to maintain them.

‘ My Lords, I think, that History has not
‘ done justice to their conduct, when they
‘ obtained from their Sovereign, that great
‘ acknowledgment of national rights contain-
‘ ed in Magna Charta : they did not confine
‘ it to themselves alone, but delivered it as a
‘ common blessing to the whole people.
‘ They did not say, These are the rights of the
‘ great Barons, or these are rights of the
‘ great Prelates :—No, my Lords ; they said,
‘ in the simple Latin of the times, *nullus*
‘ *liber homo*, and provided as carefully for
‘ the meanest subject as for the greatest.
‘ These are uncouth words, and sound but
‘ poorly in the ears of scholars ; neither are
‘ they addressed to the criticism of scholars,
‘ but to the hearts of free men. These
‘ three words, *nullus liber homo*, have a mean-
‘ ing which interests us all ; they deserve to
‘ be

‘ be remembered—they deserve to be incul-
 ‘ cated in our minds—they are worth all
 ‘ the classics. Let us not, then, degenerate
 ‘ from the glorious example of our ancestors.
 ‘ Those Iron Barons (for so I may call them
 ‘ when compared with the Silken Barons
 ‘ of modern days), were the Guardians of
 ‘ the People; yet *their* virtues, my Lords,
 ‘ were never engaged in a question of such
 ‘ importance as the present. A breach has
 ‘ been made in the Constitution—the battle-
 ‘ ments are dismantled—the citadel is open
 ‘ to the first invader—the walls totter—the
 ‘ Constitution is not tenable.—What remains
 ‘ then, but for *us* to stand foremost in the
 ‘ breach, to repair it, or perish in it?

‘ Great pains have been taken to alarm
 ‘ us with the dreadful consequences of a dif-
 ‘ ference between the two Houses of Parlia-
 ‘ ment—That the House of Commons will
 ‘ resent our presuming to take notice of their
 ‘ proceedings; that they will resent our dar-
 ‘ ing to advise the Crown, and never forgive
 ‘ us for attempting to save the State.—My
 ‘ Lords, I am sensible of the importance

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‘ and difficulty of this great crisis : at a
‘ moment, such as this, we are called upon
‘ to do our duty, without dreading the re-
‘ sentment of any man. But if apprehen-
‘ sions of this kind are to affect us, let us
‘ consider which we ought to respect most
‘ —the representative, or the collective body
‘ of the people.—My Lords, five hundred
‘ gentlemen are not ten millions ; and if
‘ we *must* have a contention, let us take
‘ care to have the English nation on our side.
‘ If this question be given up, the free-
‘ holders of England are reduced to a condi-
‘ tion baser than the peasantry of Poland.
‘ If they desert their own cause, they de-
‘ serve to be slaves !—My Lords, this is
‘ not merely the cold opinion of my under-
‘ standing, but the glowing expression of
‘ what I feel. It is my heart that speaks :
‘ I know I speak warmly, my Lords ; but
‘ this warmth shall neither betray my argu-
‘ ment nor my temper. The kingdom is
‘ in a flame. As mediators between the
‘ King and people, it is our duty to repre-
‘ sent to him the true condition and temper
‘ of his subjects. It is a duty which no
‘ particular

‘ particular respects should hinder us from
‘ performing; and whenever his Majesty
‘ shall demand our advice, it will then be
‘ our duty to enquire more minutely into
‘ the causes of the present discontents.
‘ Whenever that enquiry shall come on, I
‘ pledge myself to the House to prove, that
‘ since the first institution of the House
‘ of Commons, not a single precedent can be
‘ produced to justify their late proceedings.
‘ My noble and learned friend (the
‘ Lord Chancellor) has also pledged him-
‘ self to the House that he will support that
‘ assertion.

‘ My Lords, the character and circum-
‘ stances of Mr. Wilkes have been very im-
‘ properly introduced into this question,
‘ not only here, but in that court of judi-
‘ cature where his cause was tried: I mean
‘ the House of Commons. With one party
‘ he was a patriot of the first magnitude;
‘ with the other the vilest incendiary. For
‘ my own part, I consider him merely and
‘ indifferently as an English subject, pos-
‘ sessed of certain rights which the laws have

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‘ given him, and which the laws alone can
‘ take from him. I am neither moved by
‘ his private vices, nor by his public merits.
‘ In *his* person, though he were the *worst*
‘ of men, I contend for the safety and secu-
‘ rity of the best; and, God forbid, my
‘ my Lords, that there should be a power
‘ in this country of measuring the civil
‘ rights of the subject by his moral character,
‘ or by any other rule but the fixed laws
‘ of the land! I believe, my Lords, *I* shall
‘ not be suspected of any personal partiality
‘ to this unhappy man: I am not very
‘ conversant in pamphlets or newspapers;
‘ but, from what I have heard, and from
‘ the little I have read, I may venture to
‘ affirm, that I have had my share in the
‘ compliments which have come from that
‘ quarter; and as for motives of ambition
‘ (for I must take to myself a part of the
‘ noble Duke’s insinuation), I believe, my
‘ Lords, there have been times in which I
‘ have had the honour of standing in such
‘ favour in the closet, that there must have
‘ been something extravagantly unreasonable
‘ in my wishes if they might not *all* have
‘ been

' been gratified ; after neglecting those op-
 ' portunities, I am now suspected of coming
 ' forward in the decline of life, in the anx-
 ' ious pursuit of wealth and power, which
 ' it is impossible for me to enjoy. Be it so ;
 ' there is one ambition at least which I ever
 ' will acknowledge, which I will not re-
 ' nounce but with my life. It is the am-
 ' bition of delivering to my posterity, those
 ' rights of freedom which I have received
 ' from my ancestors. I am not now plead-
 ' ing the cause of an individual, but of every
 ' freeholder in England. In what manner
 ' this House may constitutionally interpose
 ' in their defence, and what kind of redress
 ' this case will require and admit of, is not
 ' at present the subject of our consideration.
 ' The amendment, if agreed to, will natu-
 ' rally lead us to such an enquiry. That
 ' enquiry may, perhaps, point out the ne-
 ' cessity of an act of the legislature, or it
 ' may lead us, perhaps, to desire a confer-
 ' ence with the other House ; which one
 ' noble Lord affirms is the only parliamen-
 ' tary way of proceeding ; and which another
 ' noble Lord assures us the House of Com-
 ' mons

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‘ mons would either not come to, or would
 ‘ break off with indignation. Leaving their
 ‘ Lordships to reconcile that matter between
 ‘ themselves, I shall only say, that before
 ‘ we have enquired, we cannot be provided
 ‘ with materials, consequently we are not
 ‘ at present prepared for a conference.

‘ It is impossible, my Lords, that the
 ‘ enquiry I speak of may lead us to advise his
 ‘ Majesty to dissolve the present parliament;
 ‘ nor have I any doubt of our right to give
 ‘ that advice, if we should think it necessary.
 ‘ His Majesty will then determine whether
 ‘ he will yield to the united petitions of the
 ‘ people of England, or maintain the House
 ‘ of Commons in the exercise of a legislative
 ‘ power, which heretofore abolished the
 ‘ House of Lords, and overturned the mo-
 ‘ narchy. I willingly acquit the present
 ‘ House of Commons of having actually
 ‘ formed so detestable a design; but they
 ‘ cannot themselves foresee to what excesses
 ‘ they may be carried hereafter; and for
 ‘ my own part, I should be sorry to trust to
 ‘ their future moderation. Unlimited power
 ‘ is

‘ is apt to corrupt the minds of those who
‘ possess it ; and this I know, my Lords,
‘ that, where law ends, tyranny begins !’

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The amendment was negatived. But in consequence of this strong and public arraignment of the Ministry, several of them resigned. Lord *Chatbam's* information of the proceedings of the Cabinet Council was supposed to have been derived from Lord *Camden*, who, at that time, was Lord Chancellor ; and he having this day divided with Lord *Chatbam*, the Great Seal was immediately taken from him.

Mr. *Yorke* was prevailed upon by his Majesty to accept the Seal ; and in a few hours afterwards he put a period to his own existence.

Notwithstanding the several resignations, some of them of the first families of the kingdom, which took place at this time— notwithstanding the general dissatisfaction and ferment which prevailed throughout the nation— notwithstanding the circumstances of the recent and tragical death of Mr.

Yorke

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Yorke—still the Court resolved to persevere in their measures *.

* The success of the Court in the perseverance against the petitions of the people of England, encouraged the Court in the same perseverance against the petitions of the Americans, which followed soon after. But the Americans being farther removed from the scene of corruption, were not debilitated by its influence. They retained the vigour and the virtue of their ancestors, while their fellow-subjects in Britain, affrighted by power, and oppressed by taxes, tamely kissed the rod of their chastisement.

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SPEECHES OF THE MARQUIS OF ROCK-
 INGHAM, THE DUKE OF GRAFTON,
 AND LORD CHATHAM, ON THE STATE
 OF THE NATION—GENERAL STATE
 OF AFFAIRS—UNION OF LORD CHAT-
 HAM WITH LORD ROCKINGHAM—
 DUKE OF GRAFTON RESIGNS.

ON the twenty-second of January, the
 Marquis of *Rockingham* moved for
 fixing a day to take into consideration the
 state of the nation.

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‘The object of his Lordship’s speech *
 ‘was to shew, that the present unhappy
 ‘condition of affairs, and the universal dis-
 ‘content of the people, did not arise from
 ‘any immediate temporary cause, but had

* This speech, the answer of the Duke of *Grafton*, and
 Lord *Chatham*’s reply, are printed from the notes of the
 same Gentleman who communicated the three preceding
 speeches, made on the first day of the session. They have
 none of them been printed before. It was necessary to in-
 sert Lord *Rockingham*’s and the Duke of *Grafton*’s speeches,
 as introductory to Lord *Chatham*’s.

‘grown

' grown upon us by degrees, from the mo-
 ' ment of his Majesty's accession to the
 ' throne. That the persons in whom his
 ' Majesty then confided, had introduced a
 ' total change in the old system of English
 ' Government—that they had adopted a
 ' maxim which must prove fatal to the liber-
 ' ties of this country, viz. "That the Royal
 " Prerogative alone, was sufficient to support
 " Government, to whatever hands the ad-
 " ministration should be committed;" and
 ' he could trace the operation of this prin-
 ' ciple through every act of Government
 ' since the accession; in which those per-
 ' sons could be supposed to have any in-
 ' fluence. Their first exertion of the prero-
 ' gative was to make a peace contrary to
 ' the wishes of the nation, and on terms
 ' totally disproportioned to the successes of
 ' the war; but as they felt themselves une-
 ' qual to the conduct of a war, they thought
 ' a peace, on any conditions, necessary for
 ' their own security and permanence in
 ' Administration. He then took notice of
 ' those odious tyrannical acts of power, by
 ' which an approbation of the peace had
 ' been obtained. And he mentioned the
 ' general

' general sweep through every branch and
 ' department of Administration; the removes
 ' not merely confined to the higher employ-
 ' ments, but carried down, with the mi-
 ' nuteft cruelty, to the loweft offices of
 ' the ftate; and numberlefs innocent fami-
 ' lies, which had fubfifted on falaries from
 ' fifty to two hundred pounds a year, turned
 ' out to mifery and ruin, with as little re-
 ' gard to the rules of juftice, as to the
 ' common feelings of compaffion. That
 ' their ideas of taxation were marked by the
 ' fame principle. The argument urged for
 ' taxing the cyder counties, viz. " The
 ' equity of placing them on the fame footing
 ' with others, where malt liquors were
 ' chiefly ufed," was too obvious to efcape
 ' the attention of *former* minifters; but
 ' *former* minifters paid more regard to the
 ' liberties of the people, than to the im-
 ' provement of the revenue. That the ob-
 ' ject of the cyder act, or the effect of it,
 ' at leaft, was not fo much to increafe the
 ' revenue, as to extend the laws of ex-
 ' cife, and open the doors of private men
 ' to the officers of the Crown.

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Without

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Without entering into the right of taxing America, it was evident, that since the revenue expected to arise from that measure was allowed to be very inconsiderable, the real purpose of government must have been to increase the number of their officers in that country, and consequently the strength of the prerogative.

He then took notice of the indecent manner with which the debt upon the King's Civil List had been laid before, and provided for, by Parliament. No account offered—No enquiry permitted to be made—Not even the decent satisfaction given to Parliament of an assurance that *in future* such extraordinary expences should be avoided. On the contrary, the King's speech on that occasion had been so cautiously worded, that, far from engaging to avoid such exceedings for the future, it intimated plainly that the expences of the King's civil government could not be confined within the revenue granted by Parliament—That as the nation was heavily burthened by the expence, they were no less grossly insulted by the manner in which

' which that burthen was laid upon them.
 ' That, in certain grants lately made by the
 ' crown, the ministry had adhered to their
 ' principle of carrying the prerogative to its
 ' utmost extent. No right of property—
 ' no continuance of possession had been con-
 ' sidered. But, if these had been weaker than
 ' they were, he thought some respect was
 ' due to the memory of the great Prince by
 ' whom these grants had been made; and, in
 ' common justice to the noble Duke*, whose
 ' property had been invaded, the ministry
 ' should, at least, have avoided that hurry and
 ' precipitation, which had hardly left his
 ' Grace time to defend his rights; and by
 ' which the ministry themselves seemed to
 ' confess their measures would not bear a
 ' more deliberate mode of proceeding. But
 ' the purposes of an election were to be
 ' served; and the person, benefited by this
 ' measure, was supposed to be a better
 ' friend to administration than the noble
 ' Duke, whose property had been arbitrarily
 ' transferred to another. And when, upon
 ' occasion of this extraordinary measure, and
 ' to quiet the minds of the people, a bill had
 ' been brought into parliament for securing the

* Duke of Portland.

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' property of the subject, it had been rejected
 ' the first year, and violently resisted the
 ' second; but the justice and necessity of it
 ' had prevailed over the influence, and fa-
 ' vourite maxims of the administration.
 ' That the affairs of the external part of the
 ' empire had been managed with the same
 ' want of wisdom, and had been brought
 ' into nearly the same condition with those
 ' at home. In Ireland, he saw the parlia-
 ' ment prorogued, (which probably led to a
 ' dissolution) and the affairs of that kingdom
 ' left unprovided for, and in the greatest con-
 ' fusion. That in America, measures of
 ' violence had been adopted, and it had
 ' been the uniform language and doctrine of
 ' the ministry to force that country to sub-
 ' mit. That, in his own opinion, violence
 ' would not do *there*, and he hoped it would
 ' not do *here*. But even if a plan of force
 ' were advisable, why had it not been ad-
 ' hered to? Why did they not adopt and
 ' abide by some *one* system of conduct?
 ' That the king's speeches, and the language
 ' of the ministry at home had denounced
 ' nothing but war and vengeance against a
 ' rebellious people, whilst his Majesty's go-
 ' vernors

‘ vernalors abroad, were instructed to convey to them the gentlest promises of relief and satisfaction. His Lordship here referred to Lord Bottetort’s speech to the assembly of Virginia, in May 1769, out of which he recited a passage in point. The passage was this—“ *I think myself peculiarly fortunate to be able to inform you, that a letter, dated May the 13th, I have been assured by the Earl of Hillsborough, that his Majesty’s present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to parliament to lay any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that it is their intention to propose, in the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce. See Appendix W.*

‘ With respect to foreign affairs, he thought it highly necessary to enquire, why France had been permitted to make so considerable an acquisition as the island of Corsica? That no man could deny, that this island would prove a great addition to

General
state of affairs.

‘ the strength of France, with respect to her
 ‘ marine ; both from its harbours, and the
 ‘ timber it produced. He thought this at-
 ‘ tempt of France was not only unjust in
 ‘ itself, but directly contrary to certain sti-
 ‘ pulations in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle,
 ‘ confirmed by that of 1763, by which it
 ‘ was determined and settled. “ That the
 ‘ “ republic of Genoa should be entirely re-
 ‘ “ established and maintained in *all* its former
 ‘ states and possessions ; and that, for the ad-
 ‘ vantage and maintenance of the peace in
 ‘ general, for the tranquillity of Italy in
 ‘ particular, all things should remain there
 ‘ in the condition they were in before the
 ‘ war.” That he had not dwelt so strongly
 ‘ as he might have done, upon that great
 ‘ invasion of the constitution, which had
 ‘ now thrown this whole country into a
 ‘ flame : the people were sufficiently alarmed
 ‘ for their rights, and he did not doubt but
 ‘ that matters would be duly enquired into.
 ‘ But he considered it only as the point to
 ‘ which all the other measures of the admi-
 ‘ nistration had tended. That when the con-
 ‘ stitution was violated, we should not con-
 ‘ tent ourselves with repairing the single
 ‘ breach

‘breach, but look back into the causes, and
 ‘trace the principles which had produced it,
 ‘in order, not merely to restore the consti-
 ‘tution to present health, but, if possible,
 ‘make it invulnerable hereafter,

‘Upon the whole, he recommended it
 ‘strongly to their Lordships, to fix an early
 ‘day for taking into their consideration the
 ‘state of this country in all its relations and
 ‘dependencies, foreign, provincial, and do-
 ‘mestic; for we had been injured in them
 ‘all. That consideration would, he hoped,
 ‘lead their Lordships to advise the crown
 ‘not only how to correct past errors, but
 ‘how to establish a system of government
 ‘more wise, more permanent, better suited
 ‘to the genius of the people, and, at least,
 ‘consistent with the spirit of the constitu-
 ‘tion,’

The Duke of *Grafton*, who spoke next,
 did not oppose the motion; on the contrary,
 ‘he engaged to second it, and to meet the
 ‘noble Lord upon the great question when-
 ‘ever the House should think proper. For
 ‘the present, he meant only to exculpate

Duke of
 Grafton's
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‘ himself from some severe reflections, which
 ‘ he thought were directed particularly and
 ‘ personally against himself. That he was
 ‘ ready to justify the measures alluded to by
 ‘ the noble Lord, about every other part of
 ‘ his conduct; and he did not doubt of being
 ‘ able to do so to the satisfaction of the
 ‘ house. That the resumption made by the
 ‘ Commissioners of the Treasury, of a sup-
 ‘ posed grant of the crown land, had been
 ‘ most unfairly represented. He wished the
 ‘ noble Lord, instead of the word *property*,
 ‘ had only used *possession*; and then he would
 ‘ have truly described the fact, and the ob-
 ‘ ject. That upon the application made to
 ‘ the board, by the person who had discover-
 ‘ ed the defect in the noble Duke’s title,
 ‘ he could not consistently with his duty, as
 ‘ an officer of the crown, have rejected the
 ‘ claim made by that person. That if the
 ‘ noble Duke, instead of being an opponent,
 ‘ had been the warmest friend of an admini-
 ‘ stration, the Treasury Board could not
 ‘ have acted otherwise than they did, with-
 ‘ out a flagrant violation of justice; and as
 ‘ for that hurry and precipitation of which
 ‘ they were accused, he took upon him to
 ‘ contradict

‘ contradict the noble Lord in the most posi-
 ‘ tive manner, and offered to prove at the bar
 ‘ of that House, that they had proceeded,
 ‘ not only with temper and deliberation, but
 ‘ with the utmost attention to the interests
 ‘ of the noble Duke, and every possible
 ‘ mark of respect to his person ; and had pro-
 ‘ tracted their decision to the very last mo-
 ‘ ment, allowed by the rules of the Board.
 ‘ With respect to the debt upon the Civil List,
 ‘ he neither had, nor could have, any personal
 ‘ motives for wishing to conceal from Par-
 ‘ liament the particulars of the extraordi-
 ‘ nary expences, by which that debt had been
 ‘ incurred. That the persons to whose of-
 ‘ fices it belonged, had been constantly em-
 ‘ ployed in drawing up a state of that ac-
 ‘ count, and that they had received every
 ‘ possible light and information from the of-
 ‘ ficers of the Crown, in order to shorten
 ‘ and facilitate business : but it was a work
 ‘ of infinite labour and extent ; and, notwith-
 ‘ standing the utmost diligence in the several
 ‘ public offices, could not yet be completed.

‘ That in regard to foreign affairs, he be-
 ‘ lieved the conduct of the King’s Ministers

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‘ would bear the strictest examination, and
 ‘ would be found irreproachable. That, for
 ‘ his own part, he had never thought, nor
 ‘ had he ever affirmed, that the conditions
 ‘ of the late peace were such as the people
 ‘ had a right to expect. He had maintained
 ‘ that opinion in former times, and no change
 ‘ of situation should ever induce him to re-
 ‘ linquish it. But that the peace being once
 ‘ made, and those advantages, which we
 ‘ might have expected from a continuance
 ‘ of the war, being now irrecoverable, he
 ‘ would never advise the King to engage in
 ‘ another war, as long as the dignity of the
 ‘ Crown, and the real interests of the nation,
 ‘ could be preserved without it. That what
 ‘ we had suffered already by foreign connec-
 ‘ tions, ought to warn us against engaging
 ‘ lightly in quarrels, in which we had no
 ‘ immediate concern, and to which we
 ‘ might probably sacrifice our own most es-
 ‘ sential interests.’

Ld. Chat-
 ham's re-
 ply.
 M. S.

Earl of *Chatbam*. ‘ My Lords, I meant
 ‘ to have risen immediately to second the
 ‘ motion made by the noble Lord. The
 ‘ charge which the noble Duke seemed to
 ‘ think

I think affected himself particularly, did un-
 doubtedly demand an early answer; it was
 proper he should speak before me, and I
 am as ready as any man to applaud the
 decency and propriety with which he has
 expressed himself.

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I entirely agree with the noble Lord,
 both in the necessity of your Lordships con-
 curring with the motion, and in the prin-
 ciples and arguments by which he has very
 judiciously supported it. I see clearly, that
 the complexion of our Government has
 been materially altered; and I can trace
 the origin of the alteration up to a period,
 which ought to have been an æra of hap-
 piness and prosperity to this country.

My Lords, I shall give you my reasons
 for concurring with the motion, not me-
 thodically, but as they occur to my mind.
 I may wander, perhaps, from the exact
 parliamentary debate; but I hope I shall
 say nothing but what may deserve your
 attention, and what, if not strictly proper
 at present, would be fit to be said, when
 the state of the nation shall come to be con-
 sidered.

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‘ sidered. My uncertain state of health must
 ‘ plead my excuse. I am now in some pain,
 ‘ and very probably may not be able to at-
 ‘ tend my duty, when I desire it most, in this
 ‘ House. I thank God, my Lords, for
 ‘ having thus long preserved, so inconsider-
 ‘ able a being as I am, to take a part upon
 ‘ this great occasion, and to contribute my
 ‘ endeavours, such as they are, to restore, to
 ‘ save, to confirm the Constitution.

‘ My Lords, I need not look abroad for
 ‘ grievances. The grand capital mischief is
 ‘ fixed at home. It corrupts the very foun-
 ‘ dation of our political existence, and preys
 ‘ upon the vitals of the State.—The Consti-
 ‘ tution has been grossly violated—THE CON-
 ‘ STITUTION AT THIS MOMENT STANDS
 ‘ VIOLATED. Until that wound be healed,
 ‘ until the grievance be redressed, it is in vain
 ‘ to recommend union to Parliament; in
 ‘ vain to promote concord among the people.
 ‘ If we mean seriously to unite the nation
 ‘ within itself, we must convince them, that
 ‘ their complaints are regarded, that their
 ‘ inquiries shall be redressed. On *that* foun-
 ‘ dation I would take the lead in recommend-
 ‘ ing

' ing peace and harmony to the people. On
 ' any other, I would never wish to see them
 ' united again. If the breach in the Consti-
 ' tution be effectually repaired, the people
 ' will of themselves return to a state of tran-
 ' quillity—If not—MAY DISCORD PRE-
 ' VAIL FOR EVER. I know to what point
 ' this doctrine and this language will appear
 ' directed. But I feel the principles of an
 ' Englishman, and I utter them without ap-
 ' prehension or reserve. The crisis is indeed
 ' alarming:—so much the more does it re-
 ' quire a prudent relaxation on the part of
 ' Government. If the King's servants will
 ' not permit a constitutional question to be
 ' decided on, according to the forms, and
 ' on the principles of the Constitution, it
 ' must then be decided in some other man-
 ' ner; and rather than it should be given up,
 ' rather than the nation should surrender
 ' their birth-right to a despotic Minister, I
 ' hope, my Lords, old as I am, *I shall see the*
 ' *question brought to issue, and fairly tried be-*
 ' *tween the people and the government.* My
 ' Lord, this is not the language of faction;
 ' let it be tried by that criterion, by which
 ' alone we can distinguish what is factious,
 ' from

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' from what is not—by the principles of the
 ' English Constitution. I have been bred
 ' up in these principles; and know, that
 ' when the liberty of the subject is invaded,
 ' and all redress denied him, resistance is
 ' justified. If I had a doubt upon the matter,
 ' I should follow the example set us by the
 ' most reverend bench, with whom I believe
 ' it is a maxim, when any doubt in point of
 ' faith arises, or any question of controversy
 ' is started, to appeal at once to the greatest
 ' source and evidence of our religion—I mean
 ' the Holy Bible: the Constitution has its
 ' Political Bible, by which, if it be fairly
 ' consulted, every political question may, and
 ' ought to be determined. *Magna Charta*,
 ' the petition Rights and the Bill of Rights,
 ' form that code which, I call *the Bible of*
 ' *the English Constitution*. Had some of his
 ' Majesty's unhappy predecessors trusted less
 ' to the comments of their Ministers, had
 ' they been better read in the text itself, the
 ' glorious Revolution would have remained
 ' only possible in theory, and would not now
 ' have existed upon record a formidable ex-
 ' ample to their successors.

' My

My Lords, I cannot agree with the noble Duke, that nothing less than an immediate attack upon the honour or interest of this nation, can authorise us to interpose in defence of weaker states, and in stopping the enterprizes of an ambitious neighbour. Whenever that narrow, selfish policy, has prevailed in our councils, we have constantly experienced the fatal effects of it. By suffering our natural enemies to oppress the powers, less able than we are to make a resistance, we have permitted them to encrease their strength, we have lost the most favourable opportunities of opposing them with success; and found ourselves at last obliged to run every hazard, in making that cause our own, in which we were not wise enough to take part, while the expence and danger might have been supported by others.—With respect to Corsica I shall only say, that France has obtained a more useful and important acquisition in one *Pacific* Campaign, than in any of her *Belligerent* Campaigns; at least while I had the honour of administering the war against her. The word may, perhaps, be thought singular: I mean only while I
was

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‘ was the Minister, chiefly entrusted with the
 ‘ conduct of the war. I remember, my
 ‘ Lords, the time when Lorrain was united
 ‘ to the Crown of France, that too was, in
 ‘ some measure, a pacific conquest; and
 ‘ there were people who talked of it, as the
 ‘ noble Duke now speaks of Corsica. France
 ‘ was permitted to take and keep possession of
 ‘ a noble province; and, according to his
 ‘ Grace’s ideas, we did right in not opposing
 ‘ it. The effect of these acquisitions, is, I
 ‘ I confess, not immediate; but they unite
 ‘ with the main body by degrees, and, in
 ‘ time, make a part of the national strength.
 ‘ I fear, my Lords, it is too much the temper
 ‘ of this country to be insensible of the ap-
 ‘ proach of danger, until it comes with accu-
 ‘ mulated terror upon us.

‘ My Lords, the condition of his Majesty’s
 ‘ affairs in Ireland, and the state of that
 ‘ kingdom within itself, will undoubtedly
 ‘ make a very material part of your Lordships
 ‘ enquiry. I am not sufficiently informed
 ‘ to enter into the subject so fully as I could
 ‘ wish; but by what appears to the public,
 ‘ and from my own observation, I confess I
 ‘ cannot

‘ cannot give the ministry much credit for
‘ the spirit or prudence of their conduct. I
‘ I see, that even where their measures are
‘ well chosen, they are incapable of carrying
‘ them through without some unhappy
‘ mixture of weakness or imprudence.—
‘ They are incapable of doing entirely right.
‘ My Lords, I do, from my conscience, and
‘ from the best weighed principles of my
‘ understanding, applaud the augmentation
‘ of the army. As a military plan, I
‘ believe, it has been judiciously arranged.
‘ In a political view, I am convinced it was
‘ for the welfare, for the safety of the whole
‘ empire. But, my Lords, with all these
‘ advantages, with all these recommenda-
‘ tions, if I had the honour of advising his
‘ Majesty, I would never have consented
‘ to his accepting the augmentation, with
‘ that absurd dishonourable condition, which
‘ the ministry have submitted to annex to it.
‘ My Lords, I revere the just prerogative
‘ of the crown, and would contend for it
‘ as warmly as for the rights of the people.
‘ They are linked together, and naturally
‘ support each other. I would not touch a
‘ feather

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‘ feather of the prerogative. The expres-
 ‘ sion, perhaps, is too light; but, since I
 ‘ have made use of it, let me add, that the
 ‘ intire command and power of directing
 ‘ the local disposition of the army is the
 ‘ royal prerogative, as the master-feather in
 ‘ the eagle’s wing; and if I were permitted
 ‘ to carry the allusion a little farther, I
 ‘ would say, they have disarmed the impe-
 ‘ rial bird, the “ *Ministrum Fulminis Ali-*
 ‘ *tem.*” The army is the thunder of the
 ‘ crown.—The ministry have tied up the
 ‘ hand which should direct the bolt.

‘ My Lords, I remember that Minorca
 ‘ was lost for want of four battalions. They
 ‘ could not be spared from hence; and
 ‘ there was a delicacy about taking them
 ‘ from Ireland. I was one of those, who
 ‘ promoted an enquiry into that matter in
 ‘ the other house; and I was convinced we
 ‘ had not regular troops sufficient for the
 ‘ necessary service of the nation. Since the
 ‘ moment the plan of augmentation was
 ‘ first talked of, I have constantly and
 ‘ warmly supported it among my friends;
 ‘ I have recommended it to several mem-
 ‘ bers

bers of the Irish House of Commons, and
exhorted them to support it with their
utmost interest in parliament. I did not
foresee, nor could I conceive it possible,
the ministry would accept of it, with a
condition that makes the plan itself inef-
fectual, and, as far as it operates, defeats
every useful purpose of maintaining a
standing military force. His Majesty is
now so confined, by his promise, that he
must leave twelve thousand men locked
up in Ireland, let the situation of his
affairs abroad, or the approach of danger
to this country, be ever so alarming, unless
there be an actual rebellion, or invasion,
in Great Britain. Even in the two cases
excepted by the king's promise, the mis-
chief must have already begun to operate,
must have already taken effect, before his
Majesty can be authorised to send for the
assistance of his Irish army. He has not
left himself the power of taking any pre-
ventative measures, let his intelligence be
ever so certain, let his apprehensions of
invasion or rebellion be ever so well-
founded: unless the traitor be actually in
arms; unless the enemy be in the heart

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' of your country, he cannot move a single
' man from Ireland *.

* The following is an extract of the Lord Lieutenant's message to the House of Commons of Ireland upon this occasion :

" TOWNSHEND. *Gentlemen*, " I am commanded, by
" his Majesty, to acquaint you, that his Majesty, upon the
" most mature consideration of the state and circum-
" stances of this kingdom, judges it absolutely necessary,
" that a number of troops, not less than twelve thousand
" men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers includ-
" ed, should be kept therein, for the better defence of the
" same; and that his Majesty, finding that, consistent with
" the general public service, the number before-mentioned
" cannot be constantly continued in Ireland, unless his army
" upon the Irish establishment be augmented to 15,235 men
" in the whole, commissioned and non-commissioned offi-
" cers included: His Majesty earnestly recommends it to
" his faithful Commons to concur in a measure, which his
" Majesty has extremely at heart, as necessary not only for
" the honour and dignity of his crown, but the peace and
" security of this kingdom. And I have his Majesty's spe-
" cial command to assure you expressly, in his Majesty's
" name, that it is his determined resolution, that upon such
" augmentation, a number of effective troops, not less than
" 12,000 men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers
" included, shall, at all times, except in cases of invasion
" or rebellion in Great Britain, be kept within this king-
" dom, for the better defence thereof." Lord CHATHAM'S
reasoning on the present message, is certainly right, for if
English ministry were to determine upon the necessity of
sending for troops from Ireland, according to their own
apprehensions or intelligence, the condition, with respect to
Ireland, would be nugatory.

' I feel

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' I feel myself compelled, my Lords, to
 ' return to that subject which occupies and
 ' interests me most; I mean the internal
 ' disorder of the constitution, and the re-
 ' medy it demands. But first, I would ob-
 ' serve, there is one point upon which I
 ' think the noble Duke has not explained
 ' himself. I do not mean to catch at words,
 ' but, if possible, to possess the sense of
 ' what I hear. I would treat every man
 ' with candour, and should expect the same
 ' candour in return. For the noble Duke,
 ' in particular, I have every personal re-
 ' spect and regard. I never desire to un-
 ' derstand him, but as he wishes to be
 ' understood. His Grace, I think, has laid
 ' much stress upon the diligence of the
 ' several public offices, and the assistance
 ' given them by the Administration, in
 ' preparing a state of the expences of his
 ' Majesty's civil government, for the infor-
 ' mation of Parliament, and for the satis-
 ' faction of the public. He has given us
 ' a number of plausible reasons for their not
 ' having yet been able to finish the account;
 ' but, as far as I am able to recollect, he has
 ' not yet given us the smallest reason to
 ' hope,

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‘ hope, that it ever will be finished ; or that
 ‘ it ever will be laid before Parliament.

‘ My Lords, I am not unpractised in bu-
 ‘ siness, and if, with all that apparent dili-
 ‘ gence, and all that assistance, which the
 ‘ noble Duke speaks of, the accounts in
 ‘ question have not yet been made up, I
 ‘ am convinced there must be a defect in
 ‘ some of the public offices, which ought to
 ‘ be strictly enquired into, and severely
 ‘ punished. But, my Lords, the waste of the
 ‘ public money is not of itself so important
 ‘ as the pernicious purpose to which we
 ‘ have reason to suspect that money has
 ‘ been applied. For some years past, there
 ‘ has been an influx of wealth into this
 ‘ country, which has been attended with
 ‘ many fatal consequences, because it has
 ‘ not been the regular, natural produce of
 ‘ labour and industry. The riches of Asia
 ‘ have been poured in upon us, and have
 ‘ brought with them not only Asiatic luxury,
 ‘ but, I fear, Asiatic principles of govern-
 ‘ ment. Without connexions, without any
 ‘ natural interest in the soil, the importers of
 ‘ foreign gold have forced their way into
 ‘ Parliament,

' Parliament, by such a torrent of private
 ' corruption, as no private hereditary fortune
 ' could resist. My Lords, not saying but
 ' what is within the knowledge of us all,
 ' the corruption of the people is the great
 ' original cause of the discontents of the
 ' people themselves, of the enterprise of
 ' the Crown, and the notorious decay
 ' of the internal vigour of the Constitution.
 ' For this great evil some immediate remedy
 ' must be provided; and I confess, my
 ' Lords, I did hope, that his Majesty's ser-
 ' vants would not have suffered so many
 ' years of peace to relapse, without paying
 ' some attention to an object, which ought
 ' to engage and interest us all. I flattered
 ' myself I should see some barriers thrown
 ' up in defence of the Constitution, some
 ' impediment formed to stop the rapid pro-
 ' gress of corruption. I doubt not we all
 ' agree that something must be done. I
 ' shall offer my thoughts, such as they are,
 ' to the consideration of the House; and I
 ' wish that every noble Lord who hears me,
 ' would be as ready as I am to contribute
 ' his opinion to this important service.
 ' will not call my own sentiments crude

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‘ and indigested ; it would be unfit for me
 ‘ to offer any thing to your Lordships,
 ‘ which I had not well considered ; and this
 ‘ subject, I own, has not long occupied my
 ‘ thoughts. I will now give them to your
 ‘ Lordships without reserve.

‘ Whoever understands the theory of the
 ‘ English Constitution, and will compare it
 ‘ with the fact, must see at once how widely
 ‘ they differ. We must reconcile them to
 ‘ each other, if we wish to save the liber-
 ‘ ties of this country ; we must reduce our
 ‘ political practice, as nearly as possible, to
 ‘ our principles. The Constitution intended
 ‘ that there should be a permanent relation
 ‘ between the constituent and representative
 ‘ body of the people. Will any man affirm,
 ‘ that, as the House of Commons is now
 ‘ formed, that relation is any degree pre-
 ‘ served ? My Lords, it is not preserved ; it
 ‘ is destroyed. Let us be cautious, however,
 ‘ how we have recourse to violent expedi-
 ‘ ents,

‘ The boroughs of this country have pro-
 ‘ perly enough been called the rotten parts
 ‘ of

‘ of the Constitution. I have lived in Corn-
 ‘ wall, and without entering into an invidi-
 ‘ ous particularity, have seen enough to
 ‘ justify the appellation. But in my judg-
 ‘ ment, my Lords, these boroughs, corrupt
 ‘ as they are, must be considered as the na-
 ‘ tural infirmity of the Constitution. Like
 ‘ the infirmities of the body, we must bear
 ‘ them with patience, and submit to carry
 ‘ them about with us. The limb is mor-
 ‘ tified, but the amputation might be death.

‘ Let us try, my Lords, whether some
 ‘ gentler remedies may not be discovered.
 ‘ Since we cannot cure the disorder, let us
 ‘ endeavour to infuse such a portion of new
 ‘ health into the Constitution, as may enable
 ‘ it to support its most inveterate diseases.

‘ The representation of the counties is, I
 ‘ think, still preserved pure and uncorrupted.
 ‘ That of the greatest cities is upon a footing
 ‘ equally respectable; and there are many of
 ‘ the larger trading towns, which still pre-
 ‘ serve their independence. The infusion
 ‘ of health which I now allude to, would
 ‘ be to permit every county to elect one

‘ member more, in addition to their present
 ‘ representation. The knights of the shires
 ‘ approach nearest to the Constitutional repre-
 ‘ sentation of the country, because they re-
 ‘ present the soil. It is not in the little
 ‘ dependent boroughs, it is in the great ci-
 ‘ ties and counties that the strength and vi-
 ‘ gour of the Constitution resides, and by
 ‘ them alone, if an unhappy question should
 ‘ ever rise, will the Constitution be honestly
 ‘ and firmly defended. It would increase
 ‘ that strength, because I think it is the only
 ‘ security we have against the profligacy of
 ‘ the times, the corruption of the people,
 ‘ and the ambition of the crown.

‘ I think I have weighed every possible
 ‘ objection that can be raised against a plan
 ‘ of this nature ; and I confess I see but one,
 ‘ which, to me, carries any appearances of
 ‘ solidity. It may be said, perhaps, that
 ‘ when the act passed for uniting the two
 ‘ kingdoms, the number of persons who
 ‘ were to represent the whole nation in Par-
 ‘ liament was proportioned and fixed on for
 ‘ ever—That this limitation is a fundamental

‘ article,

‘ article, and cannot be altered without
‘ hazarding a dissolution of the Union.

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‘ My Lords, no man who hears me can
‘ have a greater reverence for that wise and
‘ important act, than I have. I revere the
‘ memory of that great Prince who first
‘ formed the plan, and of those illustrious
‘ patriots who carried it into execution. As
‘ a contract, every article of it should be in-
‘ violable; as the common basis of the
‘ strength and happiness of two nations,
‘ every article of it should be sacred. I hope
‘ I cannot be suspected of conceiving a
‘ thought so detestable, as to propose an ad-
‘ vantage to one of the contracting parties
‘ at the expence of the other. No, my
‘ Lords, I mean that the benefit should be
‘ universal, and the consent to receive it
‘ unanimous. Nothing less than a most ur-
‘ gent and important occasion should per-
‘ suade me to vary even from the letter of
‘ the act; but there is no occasion, however
‘ urgent, however important, that should
‘ ever induce me to depart from the spirit of
‘ it. Let that spirit be religiously preserved.
‘ Let us follow the principle upon which
‘ the

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Union of
Ld. Chat-
ham with
Ld. Rock-
ingham.

‘ the representation of the two countries
‘ was proportioned at the Union: and when
‘ we increase the number of representatives
‘ for the English counties, let the shires of
‘ Scotland be allowed an equal privilege.
‘ On these terms, and while the proportion
‘ limited by the Union is preserved between
‘ the two nations, I apprehend that no man,
‘ who is a friend to either, will object to
‘ an alteration, so necessary for the security
‘ of both. I do not speak of the authority
‘ of the Legislature to carry such a measure
‘ into effect, because I imagine no man will
‘ dispute it. But I would not wish the Legis-
‘ lature to interpose by an exertion of its
‘ power alone, without the chearful concur-
‘ rence of all parties. My object is the happi-
‘ ness and security of the two nations, and I
‘ would not wish to obtain it without their
‘ mutual consent.

‘ My Lords, besides my warm approbation
‘ of the motion made by the noble Lord,
‘ I have a natural and personal pleasure in
‘ rising up to second it. I consider my se-
‘ conding his Lordship’s motion, and I
‘ would wish it to be considered by others,

‘ as

' as a public demonstration of that cordial
 ' union, which I am happy to affirm, subsists
 ' between us—of my attachment to those
 ' principles which he has so well defended,
 ' and of my respect for his person. There
 ' has been a time, my Lords, when those
 ' who wished well to neither of us, who
 ' wished to see us separated for ever, found
 ' a sufficient gratification for their malignity
 against us both. But that time is happily
 at an end. The friends of this country
 ' will, I doubt not, hear with pleasure, that
 ' the noble Lord and his friends are now
 ' united with me and mine, upon a princi-
 ' ple which, I trust, will make our union
 ' indissoluble. It is not to possess, or divide,
 ' the emoluments of government; but, if
 ' possible, to save the state. Upon this
 ' ground we met—upon this ground we
 ' stand, firm and inseparable. No ministerial
 ' artifices, no private offers, no secret se-
 ' duction, can divide us. United as we are,
 ' we can set the profoundest policy of the
 ' present ministry, their grand, their only
 ' arcanum of government, their *divide et*
 ' *impera*, at defiance,

' hope

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‘ I hope an early day will be agreed to
‘ for considering the state of the nation.
‘ My infirmities must fall heavily upon me,
‘ indeed, if I do not attend my duty that
‘ day. When I consider my age, and unhap-
‘ py state of health, I feel how little I am
‘ personally interested in the event of any
‘ political question. But I look forward to
‘ others, and am determined, as far as my
‘ poor ability extends, to convey to those
‘ who come after me, the blessings which
‘ I cannot long hope to enjoy myself.’

The House agreed to fixing the twenty-fourth day of January, for taking into consideration the state of the nation. But at that time their being no Lord Chancellor, the motion was adjourned to the second of February.—On the twenty-ninth of January, four days previous to the next debate, the Duke of *Grafton* resigned. The want of a Lord Chancellor determined his Grace to quit this situation. Even this resignation, added to the many others which had preceded it, had no effect upon the Court. The resolution of the private, or confidential, cabinet, was still to *persevere*—to rely upon the

the power of the Crown—and if that was not sufficient, to depend upon the army. The Duke of *Grafton*'s place was given to Lord *North*: he was now First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Minister of the House of Commons. The Great Seal was put into commission, having been refused by Lord *Mansfield* and Sir *John Eardly Wilmot*. The latter refused on account of his age. The former, because his post of Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench afforded a more permanent emolument.

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C H A P. XXXVII.

LORD CHATHAM'S SPEECH ON THE DECISION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE MIDDLESEX ELECTION—HIS SPEECH ON SECRET INFLUENCE—ON THE CIVIL LIST, AND DISMISSION OF LORD CAMDEN—FACT CONCERNING QUEEN ANNE'S CIVIL LIST — MR. GRENVILLE'S ELECTION BILL.

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ON the second day of February, 1770, the House of Lords being in a committee on the state of the nation, Lord *Rockingham* moved, That the House of Commons, in the exercise of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which is part thereof.

The Earl of *Sandwich* opposed the motion; and Lord *Chatham* replied to Lord *Sandwich*.

‘ Lord

Lord *Chatbam* began with observing,
 ' that the noble Lord had been very adroit
 ' in referring to the Journals, and in collect-
 ' ing every circumstance that might assist
 ' his argument. Though my long and al-
 ' most continued infirmities, said he, have
 ' denied me the hour of ease to obtain these
 ' benefits, yet, without the assistance of the
 ' journals, or other collaterals, I can reply
 ' to both the precedents which his Lordship
 ' has produced.

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 Speech on
 the Mid-
 dlesex
 Election.

' I will readily allow the facts to be as
 ' the noble Earl has stated them, viz. That
 ' *Lionel*, Earl of *Middlesex*, as well as Lord
 ' *Bacon*, were both, for certain crimes and mis-
 ' demeanors, expelled this house, and incapa-
 ' citated from ever sitting here; without
 ' occasioning any interference from the other
 ' branches of the legislature.

' Neither of these cases bear any analogy
 ' to the present case. They affected only
 ' themselves. The rights of no constituent
 ' body were affected by them. It is not the
 ' person of Mr. *Wilkes* that is complained of;
 ' as an individual, he is personally out of
 ' the

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' the dispute. The cause of complaint the
 ' great cause, is, that the inherent rights and
 ' franchises of the people are, in this case,
 ' invaded, trampled upon, and annihilated.
 ' Lord *Bacon* and Lord *Middlesex* represent-
 ' ed no county, or city. The rights of no
 ' freeholder, the franchises of no elector,
 ' were destroyed by their expulsion. The
 ' cases are as widely different as north from
 ' south. But I will allow the noble Earl a
 ' succedaneum to his argument, which,
 ' probably, he has not as yet thought of.
 ' I will suppose he urges, " That whatever
 ' authority gives a seat to a Peer, it is, at
 ' least, equally as respectable as to a Com-
 ' moner, and that, both in expulsion and
 ' incapacitation, the injury is directly the
 ' same:"—Granted; and I will further
 ' allow, that if Mr. *Wilkes* had not been
 ' re-elected by the people, the first expulsion,
 ' I believe, would be efficient. Therefore,
 ' my Lords, this comparison ceases; for,
 ' except these noble Lords mentioned, had
 ' received a fresh title, either by birth or
 ' patent, they could not possibly have any
 ' claim after the first expulsion. The noble
 ' Lord asks, " How came this doctrine to
 ' be

‘ be broached ?” And adds, “ Who should
 “ be more tenacious of their liberties and
 “ privileges than the members themselves ?”
 ‘ In respect to the latter part of this question,
 ‘ I agree none should be so proper as them-
 ‘ selves to protect their own rights and pri-
 ‘ vileges ; and I sincerely lament that they
 ‘ have, by their recent conduct, so far for-
 ‘ got what those privileges are, that they
 ‘ have added to the long list of venality from
 ‘ *Esau* to the present day. In regard to the
 ‘ first part, “ How came this doctrine to be
 “ broached ?” I must tell the noble Lord it is
 ‘ as old as the Constitution itself ; the liber-
 ‘ ties of the people, in the original distribu-
 ‘ tion of government, being the first thing
 ‘ provided for ; and in the case of Mr.
 ‘ *Wilkes*, though we have not instances as
 ‘ numerous as in other cases, yet it is, by
 ‘ no means, the less constitutional ; like a
 ‘ comet in the firmament, which, however
 ‘ it may dazzle and surprise the vulgar and
 ‘ untutored, by unfrequency of its appear-
 ‘ ance, the philosopher, versed in astronomic
 ‘ science, it affects no more than any other
 ‘ common process of nature, being perfectly
 ‘ simple, and to him perfectly intelligible.

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‘ Need I remind you, my Lords, at this
‘ period, of that common school-boy position,
“ that the constitution of this country depends
“ upon King, Lords, and Commons, that
“ each by their power are a balance to the
“ other.” If this is not the case, why were
‘ the three estates constituted? Why should
‘ it be necessary before an act of parliament
‘ takes place, that their mutual concurrence
‘ should be had. My Lords, I am ashamed
‘ to trudge in this common track of argu-
‘ ment; and have no apology to make, but
‘ that I have been drawn into it by the
‘ noble Lord’s asserting, “ We had no right
“ to interfere with the privileges of the other
“ House.”

‘ The noble Earl has been very exact in
‘ his calculation of the proportion of persons
‘ who have petitioned; and did the affair
‘ rest, merely, on *this* calculation, his ar-
‘ gument would be unanswerable; but will
‘ he consider what numbers, whose pri-
‘ vate sentiments felt all the rigour of par-
‘ liamentary proceedings, but for want of a
‘ few principals to call them together, and
‘ collect their opinions, have never reached
‘ the

' the ear of their sovereign. If we add to
 ' this number, the interest made use of on
 ' the side of government, to suppress all pe-
 ' titions, with the authority that placemen
 ' have necessarily over their dependants, it
 ' is very surprising, that out of forty coun-
 ' ties, thirteen had spirit and independence
 ' sufficient to stem such a tide of venality.
 ' But I will suppose that this was not the
 ' case, that no undue influence was made
 ' use of, and that hence but one third of
 ' the people think themselves aggrieved.
 ' Are numbers to constitute right? are not
 ' the laws of the land fixed and unalterable?
 ' and is not this proceeding complained of,
 ' or any other (supported even but by one),
 ' to be tried, and adjudged by these laws?
 ' Therefore, however the noble Lord may
 ' excel in the doctrine of calculation as a
 ' speculative matter, it can by no means
 ' serve him, urged in the course of argu-
 ' ment.

' Let us not then, my Lords, be deaf to
 ' the alarms of the people, when these
 ' alarms are founded on the infringement of
 ' their rights.—Let us not sit neuter and

‘ inattentive to the proceedings of the other
 ‘ House. We are, equally with that House,
 ‘ entrusted with the people’s rights, and we
 ‘ cannot conscientiously discharge our duties
 ‘ without our interference, whenever we
 ‘ find those rights, in any part of the con-
 ‘ stitution, trampled on.

‘ I have, my Lords, trespassed on your
 ‘ patience at this late hour of the night,
 ‘ when the length of this debate must have
 ‘ fatigued your Lordships considerably. But
 ‘ I cannot apologize in a case so deeply inte-
 ‘ resting to the nation—no time can be too
 ‘ long—no time can be lost—no hardships
 ‘ can be complained of.

‘ He condemned the conduct of the House
 ‘ of Commons in terms of asperity. He
 ‘ denominated the vote of that House, which
 ‘ had made Colonel *Luttrell* representative
 ‘ for Middlesex, a gross invasion of the
 ‘ Rights of Election—a dangerous violation
 ‘ of the English Constitution—a treacherous
 ‘ surrender of the invaluable privilege of a
 ‘ freehold, and a corrupt sacrifice of their own
 ‘ honour. They had stript the statute book
 ‘ of

' of its brightest ornaments, to gild the wings,
 ' not of prerogative, but of unprincipled
 ' faction and lawless domination. To gratify
 ' the resentments of some individuals, the
 ' laws had been despised, trampled upon,
 ' and destroyed—those laws, which had been
 ' made by the stern virtue of their ancestors,
 ' the iron barons of old, to whom we were
 ' indebted for all the blessings of our present
 ' Constitution; to whose virtue and whose
 ' blood, to whose spirit in the hour of con-
 ' test, and to whose tenderness in the triumph
 ' of victory, the silken barons of this day,
 ' owe their honours and their seats, and
 ' both Houses of Parliament owe their con-
 ' tinuance. These measures, he said, made
 ' a part of that unhappy system, which had
 ' been formed in the present reign, with a
 ' view to *new-model* the Constitution, as well
 ' as the Government. These measures ori-
 ' ginated, he would not say, with his Ma-
 ' jesty's knowledge, but in his Majesty's
 ' Councils. The Commons had slavishly
 ' obeyed the commands of his Majesty's ser-
 ' vants, and had thereby exhibited, and proved
 ' to the conviction of every man, what might
 ' have been only matter of suspicion before—

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‘ *that Ministers held a corrupt influence in Par-*
 ‘ *liament—it was demonstrable—it was indis-*
 ‘ *putable. It was therefore particularly neces-*
 ‘ *sary for their Lordships, at this critical and*
 ‘ *alarming period, so full of jealousy and ap-*
 ‘ *prehension, to step forwards, and oppose*
 ‘ *themselves, on the one hand, to the justly*
 ‘ *incensed, and perhaps speedy intemperate*
 ‘ *rage of the people; and on the other, to the*
 ‘ *criminal and malignant conduct of his Ma-*
 ‘ *jesty’s Ministers: that they might prevent*
 ‘ *licentiousness on the one side, and depreda-*
 ‘ *tion on the other. Their Lordships were the*
 ‘ *constitutional barrier between the extremes*
 ‘ *of liberty and prerogative.*’

The House being in a Committee, the question was put, Whether the Speaker should resume the chair? which was decided in the affirmative by a great majority.

The question being now got rid of, and notwithstanding it was past twelve o’clock, the Earl of *Marchmont* made the following motion: “ That any resolution of
 “ this House, directly or indirectly impeach-
 “ ing a judgment of the House of Commons
 “ in

“in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the Commons, tends to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leads to a general confusion.”

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* “It should seem that the Scotch kept this motion in their pockets: and that they reserved themselves for it; as neither the Earl of *Marchmont*, who made it, nor Lord *Mansfield*, who supported it, opened their mouths till now; when they both spoke with great vigour. The Earl of *Marchmont* threw out, by way of menace to the Opposition, that if they went one step further, they would justify the necessity of calling in foreign assistance. The Duke of *Richmond* called him to order, and asked for an explanation of the words *foreign assistance*. But he *shuffled* it off. Lord *Mansfield*, in a long speech insisted, that their Lordships had no right to interfere in any determination of the Commons. The Earl of Eg-

* From the London Museum, vol. 1, page 190. It is not known that any other account of this debate was taken.

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mont said, the late petitions were highly
 censurable, that the people had no right to
 present such petitions, for that they were
 treasonable—‘ the Earl of *Chatham* thanked
 ‘ him for his *lenity*, in permitting the petiti-
 ‘ oners to have their heads on one day lon-
 ‘ ger : and said, the petitions were laudable
 ‘ and constitutional ; and the right of the
 ‘ people, to present them ; undoubted. He
 ‘ then replied to Lord *Mansfield*, and shewed
 ‘ the necessity of the House of Lords in-
 ‘ terfering, in case of an invasion of the
 ‘ people’s liberties, or an unconstitutional
 ‘ determination of the House of Commons ;
 ‘ and he affirmed, that the case of the county
 ‘ of Middlesex fell under both those deno-
 ‘ minations. Then he conjured them, by
 ‘ the noble blood which had run for so
 ‘ many ages in their veins, and by the noble
 ‘ struggles of their ancestors in behalf of
 ‘ liberty, not to behold with indifference
 ‘ a transaction so alarming ; and modestly
 ‘ said of himself, for his own part, he was
 ‘ hardly warm in his seat. He quoted Lord
 ‘ *Somers* and Chief Justice *Holt*, in support
 ‘ of his law : and drew their characters
 ‘ very finely. He called them *honest men*,
 ‘ who

‘ who knew and loved the English Consti-
 ‘ tution. Then turning to Lord *Mansfield*,
 ‘ he said, I vow to God I think the noble
 ‘ Lord equals them both—in *abilities*. To-
 ‘ wards the conclusion he complained strongly
 ‘ of the motion’s being *sudden*, and made at
 ‘ midnight, and pressed the necessity of an
 ‘ adjournment of only *two days*. He said,
 ‘ among other things, if the Constitution
 ‘ must be wounded, let it not receive its
 ‘ mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour,
 ‘ when honest men are asleep in their beds,
 ‘ and when only felons and assassins are
 ‘ seeking for prey.’

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At half past one in the morning the ques-
 tion was put, and decided in the affirma-
 tive.

On the second day of March 1770, a mo-
 tion was made in the House of Lords by Lord
Craven, for an Address to the King, request-
 ing his Majesty would put his Royal Navy
 on such a footing as to secure respect to his
 Crown, and protection to the trade of his
 subjects.

‘ On

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On this occasion Lord *Chatham* condemned the conduct of his Majesty's servants, in almost every particular. He complained strongly of the secret influence of the Earl of *Bute*, which he affirmed still continued, and which had prevented there having been any original Minister since the accession of his present Majesty. The Duke of *Grafton* took this to himself, and said he did not know what the noble Earl meant, by there having been no original Minister; he could take upon him to say, that while he was in office he was as much Minister as any man could be. Lord *Chatham* scouted the idea of the noble Duke's having been Minister, and seemed to laugh at his presumption in having thought himself so. He said, he spoke of the secret influence of an invisible power;— of a Favourite, whose pernicious counsels had occasioned all the present unhappiness and disturbances in the nation, and who, notwithstanding he was abroad, was at this moment as potent as ever; that he had ruined every plan for the public good, and betrayed every man who had taken a responsible office; that there was no safety, no security

‘ curity against his power and malignity: that
‘ he himself had been duped, he confessed it
‘ with sorrow; that he had been duped when
‘ he least suspected treachery, at a time when
‘ the prospect was fair, and when the appear-
‘ ances of confidence were strong; in particu-
‘ lar, at the time when he was taken ill, and
‘ obliged to go to Bath for a short week; he
‘ had, before he set out, formed, with great
‘ pains, attention and deliberation, schemes
‘ highly interesting and of the utmost import-
‘ ance to this country; schemes which had
‘ been approved in Council, and to which the
‘ King himself had given his consent. But
‘ when he returned, he found his plans were
‘ all vanished into thin air.

‘ The House of Savoy, continued he, has
‘ produced a race of illustrious Princes; not-
‘ withstanding which it must be confessed,
‘ that the Court of Turin sold you to the
‘ Court of France in the last peace.—When
‘ I was earnestly called upon for the public
‘ service, I came from Somersetshire with
‘ wings of zeal. I consented to preserve a
‘ peace which I abominated; a peace I would
‘ not make, but would preserve when made.

I under-

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1770.

‘I undertook to support a Government by
 ‘law; but to shield no man from public
 ‘justice. These terms were accepted, I
 ‘thought with sincerity accepted. I own I
 ‘was credulous, I was duped, I was de-
 ‘ceived; for I soon found that there was
 ‘no ORIGINAL Administration to be suffer-
 ‘ed in this country. The same secret in-
 ‘visible influence still prevailed, which had
 ‘put an end to all the successive administra-
 ‘tions, as soon as they opposed or declined
 ‘to act under it.’

Here the Duke of *Grafton* rose again, and
 said, I rise to defend the King; though, if
 I understand rightly the words which have
 been spoken, they are only the effects of
 a distempered mind, brooding over its own
 discontent,

To which Lord *Chatbam* replied, ‘I rise
 ‘neither to deny, to retract, nor to explain
 ‘away the words I have spoken. As for his
 ‘Majesty, I always found every thing gra-
 ‘cious and amiable in the Closet; so ami-
 ‘ably condescending as a *promise*, in every
 ‘repeated audience, not only to forgive, but

‘ to

' to supply the defects of health by his cheer-
 ' ful support, and by the ready assistance of
 ' all his immediate dependants, &c. Instead
 ' of this, all the obstacles and difficulties
 ' which attended every great and public
 ' measure, did not arise from those out of
 ' Government: they were suggested, nourish-
 ' ed and supported by that secret influence I
 ' have mentioned, and by the industry of
 ' those very dependants: first by secret trea-
 ' chery; then by official influence; after-
 ' wards in public Councils. A long train of
 ' these practices has at length unwillingly
 ' convinced me, that there is something be-
 ' hind the Throne greater than the King
 ' himself. As to the noble Duke, there was
 ' in his conduct, from the time of my being
 ' taken ill, a gradual deviation from every
 ' thing that had been settled and solemnly
 ' agreed to by his Grace, both as to measures
 ' and men; till at last there were not left
 ' two planks together of the ship which had
 ' been originally launched. As to a distem-
 ' pered mind, I have a drawer full of proofs
 ' that my principles have never given way
 ' to any disease; and that I have always had
 ' sufficient vigour of mind remaining to sup-
 ' port-

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1770.

‘ port them, and consequently to avoid all
‘ those snares, which from time to time have
‘ been so artfully laid to take advantage of
‘ my state of health ; his Grace can witness
‘ better than any other man, because he has
‘ himself the letters which sufficiently prove
‘ it.*’

The motion was negatived.

On the sixteenth day of March, a motion was made, to appoint a Committee to enquire into the state and expenditure of the Civil List.

Speech on
the Civil
List.

Lord *Chatbam* spoke in support of the motion, ‘ He said the Civil List was appropriated, in the first instance, to the support of the Civil Government ; and in the next, to the honour and dignity of the Crown. In every other respect, the minute and particular expences of the Civil List are as open to Parliamentary examination and enquiry, in regard to the application and abuse, as any other grant of the people, to any other

* This speech is also copied from the London Museum, vol. 1. page 248.

‘ purpose :

‘ purpose : and Ministers are equally or more
 ‘ culpable for incurring an unprovided ex-
 ‘ pence, and for running in arrears this service,
 ‘ as for any other. The preambles of the
 ‘ Civil List acts prove this : and none but
 ‘ children, novices, or ignorants, will ever
 ‘ act without proper regard to them : and
 ‘ therefore, I can never consent to encrease
 ‘ fraudulently the Civil Establishment, under
 ‘ pretence of making up deficiencies ; nor
 ‘ will I bid so high for Royal favour ; and
 ‘ the Minister who is bold enough to spend
 ‘ the people’s money, before it is granted
 ‘ (even though it were not for the purpose
 ‘ of corrupting their representatives), and
 ‘ thereby leaving the people of England no
 ‘ other alternative, but either to disgrace
 ‘ their Sovereign, by not paying his debts,
 ‘ or to become the prey of every unthrifty
 ‘ or corrupt Minister—such Minister deserves
 ‘ death.

‘ The late good old King had something
 ‘ of humanity, and amongst other royal and
 ‘ manly virtues, he possessed justice, truth,
 ‘ and sincerity, in an eminent degree ; so
 ‘ that he had something about him, by
 ‘ which

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‘ which it was possible for you to know
‘ whether he liked you or disliked you.

‘ I have been told that I have a pension, and
‘ that I have recommended others to pen-
‘ sions. It is true; and here is a list of
‘ them: you will find there the names of
‘ General *Amherst*, Sir *Edward Hawke*, and
‘ several others of the same nature; they
‘ were given as rewards for real services,
‘ and as encouragements to other gallant
‘ heroes. They were honourably earned in
‘ a different sort of campaigns than those at
‘ Westminster; they were gained by actions,
‘ full of danger to themselves, of glory and
‘ benefaction to this nation; not by corrupt
‘ votes of baseness and destruction to their
‘ country.

‘ You will find no secret services there,
‘ and you will find, that when the warrior
‘ was recompensed, the Member of Parlia-
‘ ment was left free. You will likewise
‘ find a pension of 1500l. a year to Lord
‘ *Camden*. I recommend his Lordship to
‘ be Chancellor; his public and private
‘ virtues were acknowledged by all; they
‘ made his station more precarious. I could
‘ not

' not reasonably expect from him, that he
 ' would quit the Chief Justiceship of the
 ' Common Pleas, which he held for life,
 ' and put himself in the power of those
 ' who were not to be trusted, to be dis-
 ' missed from the Chancery, perhaps the
 ' day after his appointment. The public
 ' has not been deceived by his conduct.
 ' My suspicions have been justified. His
 ' integrity has made him once more a
 ' poor and a private man; he was dis-
 ' missed for the vote he gave in favour of
 ' the right of election in the people."

Here Lord MARCHMONT, who lately
 talked of foreign force, called Lord
 CHATHAM to order. Some Lords called
 out "to the bar, to the bar!" Lord
 MARCHMONT moved, that Lord CHAT-
 HAM's words should be taken down.

Lord CHATHAM seconded the motion,
 and added, ' I neither deny, retract, nor
 ' explain these words. I do re-affirm the
 ' fact, and I desire to meet the sense of
 ' the House; I appeal to the honour

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‘ of every Lord in this House, whether
‘ he has not the same conviction.”

Lord ROCKINGHAM, Lord TEMPLE, and
many other Lords, did upon their honour
affirm the same.

Lord SANDWICH and Lord WEYMOUTH
would have withdrawn the motion; but
Lord MARCHMONT, encouraged by Lord
MANSFIELD, persisted, and moved, that
nothing had appeared to justify such an
assertion.

Lord CHATHAM, ‘ My words remain
‘ unretracted, unexplained, and re-affirmed.
‘ I desire to know whether I am con-
‘ demned or acquitted; and whether I may
‘ still presume to hold up my head as
‘ high as the noble Lord, who moved to
‘ have my words taken down.’

To this no answer was given.

Lord CHATHAM was reproached with ha-
ving recommended the Duke of GRAFTON;
and that he had forced his Grace on the
King as his first Minister.

Lord

Lord CHATHAM replied, ' I advised his Majesty to take the Duke of GRAFTON as first Lord of the Treasury, but there is such a thing as time as well as tide; and the conduct of the noble Duke has convinced me, that I am as likely to be deceived as any other man, and as fallible as my betters. It was an expression of that great Minister Sir R. WALPOLE, upon a debate on the army in the year 1737, " those who gave the power of blood, gave blood." I will beg leave to parodize the expression, and say, those who gave the means of corruption, gave corruption. *I will trust no Sovereign in the world with the means of purchasing the liberties of the people.* When I had the honour of being the confidential keeper of the King's intention, he assured me, that he *never intended to exceed the allowance* which was made by parliament; and therefore, my Lords, at a time when there are no marks of personal dissipation in our King, at a time when there are no marks of any considerable sums having been expended to procure the secrets of our enemies; that

a request of an enquiry into the expenditure of the Civil List should be refused, is to me most extraordinary. Does the King of England want to build a palace equal to his rank and dignity? Does he want to encourage the polite and useful arts? Does he mean to reward the hardy veteran, who has defended his quarrel in many a rough campaign, whose salary does not equal that of some of your servants? Or does he mean, by drawing the purse-strings of his subjects, to spread corruption through the people, to procure a Parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit his Ministers at all adventures. I do not say, my Lords, that corruption lies *here*, or that corruption lies *there*; but if any gentleman in England were to ask me, whether I thought both Houses of Parliament were bribed, *I should laugh in his face*, and say, "Sir, it is not so." My Lords, from all that has been said, I think it must appear, that an enquiry into the state and expenditure of the Civil List revenue is expedient, proper and just; a refusal of it at this time will only add ridicule to disgrace, and folly to enormity.

The

The motion was negatived.

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1770.

Queen
Anne's
Civil List.

On this subject of the Civil List, it cannot be improper to shew the falsity of a compliment paid by *Boyer*, *Tindal*, *Smollet*, *Goldsmith*, and other writers, and even by some Members of former Parliaments, in their speeches, when it has suited their purpose, to the late QUEEN ANNE. They say, that for four years, she gave one hundred thousand pounds per annum, out of her Civil List, towards carrying on the war against France; and from hence they deduce an argument, in proof, of the œconomy and patriotism of that Princess. If the assertion had been true, the argument, might have passed without notice. But when a compliment of this sort is paid, not only without foundation, but at the expence of truth, and of the nation; it is presumed, that it will not be thought improper to state the Fact, for the information of those, who have not the Journals of Parliament, and other documents in their possession.

In fact, this pretended generosity was one of the most scandalous actions that the

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Crown ever committed by any Administration. It was a manifest and gross cheat upon the Public, who were extravagant losers by it; for some time after, viz. upon the 25th of June 1713, the Queen acquainted the House of Commons, by message, that she had contracted a very large debt upon her Civil List revenues, which she was unable to pay, and therefore desired to make them good; and such was the complaisance of a Tory Parliament, that notwithstanding the detestation which must have arisen in every honest breast, upon the detection of this clumsy juggler, and though Mr. SMITH, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer*, honestly informed the House, that the estimate of this debt was astonishing to him, being made to amount to August 1710, to 400,000*l*. Whereas, he was able to affirm from his own knowledge, that it amounted at that time to little more than 100,000*l*. and though many others undertook to prove, that the funds given for 700,000*l*. had, in reality, amounted to 800,000*l*. and though these gentlemen had

* The Tellers of the Exchequer were at that time Members of Parliament.

prevailed

prevailed so far as to procure an address to the Crown for an account of the Civil List debt at Midsummer 1713, and for a yearly account of the net produce of the Civil List revenue, no regard was paid to this information, nor to this address; none of these accounts were ever permitted to be laid before the House, and upon the very next day they voted no less a sum than 500,000*l.* for this service.—This is the truth, and the whole truth, of that generous exploit of the daughter of King JAMES II. It was a mean trick, by which the nation was cheated of 400,000*l.*—This Queen had as many private vices, and as few public virtues, as any Prince who has filled the British Throne since the House of TUDOR.

On the fifth day of April, Mr. GRENVILLE's Bill for trying Controverted Elections, was brought from the House of Commons by Mr. GRENVILLE, attended by one hundred Members.

Lord CHATHAM supported the Bill, and passed some very elegant encomiums upon it. He then said, That as he had begun

Mr.
Grenville's
Election
Bill.

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1770.

his life out of a Court, he hoped he should end it out of a Court. He had no view of interest. All he meant was to rouse his country to a just sense of the blessings of this Constitution. Then he desired that the House might be summoned after the Holidays, for he designed to bring in a Bill to reverse the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex Election. He declared, that his intention by this Bill, was to give the people a strong and thorough sense of the great violation of the Constitution, by those unjust and arbitrary proceedings.

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OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

LORD CHATHAM'S BILL ON THE MIDDLESEX ELECTION, AND SPEECH IN SUPPORT OF THE BILL—LORD CHATHAM'S MOTION, AND SPEECH, ON THE KING'S ANSWER TO A PETITION FROM THE CITY OF LONDON—HIS MOTION FOR A DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT—SOME HEADS OF A SPEECH ON REPRESENTATION—HIS LETTER TO LORD TEMPLE ON THAT SUBJECT—ANEC-
DOTE ON THE SAME SUBJECT FROM LORD BUCHAN—GOES INTO SOMERSETSHIRE.

ON the first day of May, 1770, the Earl of CHATHAM presented to the House a Bill, intituled,

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1770.

A Bill for reversing the adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby JOHN WILKES, Esq; has been adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middlesex have been deprived of one of their legal representatives.

The

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1770

The said Bill was read the first time.

The following is an accurate copy of the Bill.

A Bill for reversing the adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby John Wilkes, Esq. has been adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, and the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex have been deprived of one of their legal Representatives.

WHEREAS the capacity of being elected a Representative of the Commons in Parliament (is under known limitations of law) an original inherent right of the subject; and forasmuch as to deprive the subject of this high franchise and birth-right, otherwise than by a judgment according to the law of the land, and the constant established usage of Parliament conformable thereto, and part thereof, is directly contrary to the fundamental laws and freedom of this realm, and in particular to the act, "declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the
" Crown,"

"crown," at the ever-memorable period of the Revolution; when free election of Members of Parliament was expressly vindicated and secured.

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1770.

And whereas JOHN WILKES, Esq; having been duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex, was, on the 17th of February, 1769, without being heard, adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, by a resolution of the House of Commons, as follows;

"Resolved,

"That JOHN WILKES, Esq; having been in this session of Parliament expelled this House, was and is incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament."

And whereas on the same day the said House of Commons farther resolved as follows: "That the late election of a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex is a void election;"

And

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XXXVIII.

3720.

And whereas the said JOHN WILKES, Esq; having been again duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex, the said House of Commons did, on the 17th of March, 1769, resolve in the words following " That the election and return of JOHN WILKES, Esq; who hath been by this House adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, are null and void :

And whereas the said JOHN WILKES, Esq; having been again duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in the present Parliament for the county of Middlesex aforesaid, and having on the original poll-books, eleven hundred and forty-three votes in his favour, against two hundred and ninety-six, in favour of HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, Esq; the House of Commons did, on the 15th of April, 1769, without a hearing of parties, and in manifest violation of the indubitable right of the Freeholders of the county of Middlesex to chuse their representatives in Parliament, resolve as follows :

That

That HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, Esq; ought to have been returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex, and thereupon ordered the said return to be amended accordingly;

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1770.

And whereas, by another resolution, of the 8th of May, 1769, the said House of Commons did, upon hearing the matter of the petition of the Freeholders of the county of Middlesex, as far as the same related to the election of HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, farther resolve as follows:

“ That HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, Esq; is duly elected a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex.”

And forasmuch as all the resolutions aforesaid, cutting off the subject from his indubitable birth-right, by a vote of one House of Parliament, exercising discretionary power and legislative authority, under colour of a jurisdiction in elections, are most arbitrary, illegal, and dangerous.

Be

Be it therefore declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, " That all the
 " adjudications contained in the above-
 " mentioned several resolutions are arbitra-
 " ry and illegal, and the same are and
 " shall be hereby reversed, annulled, and
 " made void, to all intents and purposes
 " whatsoever."

After the first reading of the said bill, it was moved,

That the said bill be read a second time, on Thursday next; which being warmly objected to by Lord DENBIGH, Lord CHATHAM replied, ' the noble Lord has
 ' been loud and violent against this motion.
 ' He seems to be very angry with the
 ' friends of this measure, but then he is
 ' angry *in such a sort*, that I am sure no-
 ' body can be angry with him; I shall,
 ' therefore, wave replying to some reflec-
 ' tions he has thrown out upon the faction,
 ' as he is pleased to call it, and take a short

view

view of the cause of this motion. Here
are 1143 legal, sworn Freeholders, vote a
gentleman their Member of Parliament,
against 296 who oppose him; with this
apparent majority, he comes to take his
seat so given him by the laws and consti-
tution of his country. But what do the
House of Commons? Why, they shut
the door in his face, and by a new state-
arithmetic, make 296 a greater number
than 1143. Is not this, my Lords, flying
in the face of all law and freedom? Is
not this apparently robbing the Free-
holders of their liberty, and making a mere
farce of Englishmen's birth-rights? It is
very true, the House of Commons had a
right, if petitioned by Colonel LUTTRELL,
to enquire minutely into the qualifications
of his opponent's electors; to admit none
as such, but those duly qualified by law;
and after making these deductions, then
determine the majority. But this has not
been even attempted. The seat of the
legal representative has been wrested from
him, and a violent outrage has been com-
mitted, that strikes at every thing that is
dear and sacred to the liberties of Engli-
shmen.

It

‘ It has been urged, my Lords, that there
 ‘ is no precedent for one House taking cog-
 ‘ nizance of the proceedings of the other.
 ‘ If my memory serves me right, I remem-
 ‘ ber one nearly parallel, in the case of
 ‘ Titus Oates, where the Commons took
 ‘ cognizance of the proceedings of the
 ‘ Lords on that subject; so that it is no new
 ‘ thing for one House to be a check on the
 ‘ other, as it is is not only established by
 ‘ precedent, but by the principles of our
 ‘ constitution.

‘ It is said, my Lords, that the spirit of
 ‘ discontent has gone abroad—I should be
 ‘ surpris’d if it had not; for how can it be
 ‘ otherwise, when to use a familiar expres-
 ‘ sion, Colonel LUTTRELL sits in the *lap*
 ‘ of JOHN WILKES; when a corrupt House
 ‘ of Common invert all law and order, and
 ‘ deny the just privilege the electors claim
 ‘ by the constitution of these kingdoms?
 ‘ Though I will not aid the voice of faction,
 ‘ I will aid the just complaints of the peo-
 ‘ ple; and while I have strength to crawl,
 ‘ I will exert my poor abilities in their ser-
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‘ vice ; and I here pledge myself to their
 ‘ cause, because I know it is the cause of
 ‘ truth and justice.

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XXXVIII

1770.

‘ I am afraid, my Lords, this measure
 ‘ has sprung too near the throne—I am sorry
 ‘ for it : but I hope his Majesty will
 ‘ open his eyes, and see it in all its deform-
 ‘ ity ; (Here Lord Pomfret interrupted him,
 ‘ by calling him to order) upon which Lord
 ‘ Chatham said, I do not retract my words
 ‘ —I esteem the King in his personal capa-
 ‘ city, I revere him in his political one ; and
 ‘ on these principles I hope he will see it,
 ‘ and see it in such a light, that he will
 ‘ redress it, by the dissolution of a House
 ‘ that could adopt such a measure.’

The motion to read the Bill a second time was negatived.

Lord STAFFORD (then Lord GOWER)
 moved to reject the bill ; upon which the
 Lords divided 89 for the motion, 43
 against it.

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1770.

Before the House adjourned, Lord CHATHAM desired their Lordships might be summoned for the fourth of May; for, said he, I have a motion of great importance relative to the King.

On the fourth day of May Lord CHATHAM moved the following resolution:

Motion on
the King's
answer to
the City
Petition.

“ That it is the opinion of this House, that the advice, inducing his Majesty to give the answer to a late Humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, in Common-Hall assembled, is of a most dangerous tendency; inasmuch as thereby, the exercise of the clearest rights of the subject; namely, to petition the King for Redress of Grievances; to complain of Violation of the freedom of Election; to pray Dissolution of Parliament; to point out Mal-Practices in Administration; and to urge the Removal of Evil Ministers, has, under pretence of reproofing certain parts of the said Remonstrance and Petition, by the generality of *one* compendious word, CONTENTS, been indiscriminately checked with

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with reprimand; and the afflicted Citizens of London have heard from the throne itself, that the *contents* of their Humble Address, Remonstrance and Petition, laying their *complaints* and *injuries* at the feet of the Sovereign, as *Father* of his people, *able* and *willing* to *redress* them, cannot but be considered by his Majesty, as disrespectful to himself, injurious to his Parliament, and irreconcilable to the Principles of the Constitution."

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17704

This motion being regularly read by the Speaker, Lord CHATHAM went on, ‘ I am
‘ to consider, in consequence of this motion,
‘ what it was the Lord Mayor, Aldermen
‘ and Livery of the city of London request-
‘ ed, in order to discover the causes they
‘ gave, by their requisition, for such an
‘ answer—an answer so harsh, that it ex-
‘ ceeds every thing in the history of this
‘ country. They requested, my Lords,
‘ very humbly, a Restoration of the Free-
‘ dom of Election, a Dismission of unjust
‘ Servants, and a Dissolution of a Parlia-
‘ ment that protected them ; because they
‘ (the Citizens of London) were not, legally,
‘ represented

represented

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1770.

' represented by such. Now, my Lords, I
 ' do aver the truth of this petition; and I
 ' do likewise aver, that the Citizens of Lon-
 ' don, with the rest of his Majesty's sub-
 ' jects, have a right to petition, not only
 ' by Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights,
 ' but by a variety of Acts of Parliament,
 ' numerous as they are expressive. No
 ' particular part of the petition is applied
 ' to, but the whole of the *contents* are at
 ' once disposed of. "That this Petition
 " was disrespectful to himself, (the King)
 " injurious to his Parliament, and irrecon-
 " cileable to the principles of the Consti-
 " tution." ' I am too well acquainted, my
 ' Lords, with his Majesty, to think him
 ' capable of giving such an answer---nor
 ' could he do it, with propriety, either in
 ' his regal or personal capacity. I must
 ' beg your patience, my Lords, to consider
 ' this a little more attentively: ' First, *Dis-*
 ' *respectful to himself.*' How is a King to
 ' know this? Is he a judge what is disre-
 ' spectful to him? No, my Lords; the laws
 ' are to determine this for him, the just in-
 ' terpreters of offences, ' *Injurious to my*
 ' *Parliament!*' How injurious to Parlia-
 ' ment?

‘ment? when the very nature or part of
 ‘the Petition, refers to that Freedom of
 ‘Election in the People, by which *they* be-
 ‘came a House of Judicature; ‘*Irrecon-*
 ‘*cilable to the Principles of the Constitu-*
 ‘*tion,*’ when the very essence of the Con-
 ‘stitution, not only *permits* but *requires*
 ‘petitioning the Throne, and what the
 ‘*Stuarts* never dared to prevent in the
 ‘zenith of their power. I repeat again,
 ‘my Lords, the king could never give such
 ‘an answer from himself; and indeed, my
 ‘Lords, poor as my opinion is of admini-
 ‘stration, I can hardly think it was a *joint*
 ‘*official* advice, but the opinion of *one*, or
 ‘a *confidential few*; for it is impossible, but
 ‘if there were many, who were consulted
 ‘upon this measure, some of them must
 ‘see the absurdity of it,

‘When I mentioned the Livery of Lon-
 ‘don, I thought I saw a sneer upon some
 ‘faces; but let me tell you, my Lords,
 ‘though I have the honour to sit in this
 ‘House, as a Peer of the Realm, coincid-
 ‘ing with these honest Citizens in opinion,
 ‘I am proud of the honour of associating

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‘ my name with theirs. And let me tell the
 ‘ noblest of you all, it would be an ho-
 ‘ nour to you. The Livery of London,
 ‘ my Lords, were respectable long before
 ‘ the reformation: the Lord Mayor of
 ‘ London was a *Principal* among the
 ‘ twenty-five Barons who received Magna
 ‘ Charta from King John, and they have
 ‘ ever since been considered to have a prin-
 ‘ cipal weight in all the affairs of govern-
 ‘ ment. How then have these respectable
 ‘ characters been treated? They have been
 ‘ sent away *fore afflicted* from his Majesty’s
 ‘ presence, and reprimanded for pursuing
 ‘ their undoubted rights.’

The motion was negatived.

Motion to
 dissolve the
 Parliament.

On the fourteenth of May, Lord CHAT-
 HAM made a motion for an address to the
 King, to desire he would dissolve the pre-
 sent Parliament. ‘ He stated the public
 ‘ discontents in England, Ireland, and Ame-
 ‘ rica: affirmed that the people had no con-
 ‘ fidence in the present House of Commons,
 ‘ who had betrayed their trust; and shewed,
 ‘ from the situation of public affairs, the
 great

‘ great necessity of having a Parliament in
 ‘ whom the people could place a proper
 ‘ confidence! Instead of depriving a county
 ‘ of its representative, he said that one or
 ‘ more members ought to be added to the
 ‘ representation of the counties; in order
 ‘ to operate as a balance, against the weight
 ‘ of the several corrupt and venal boroughs,
 ‘ which perhaps could not be lopped off
 ‘ entirely, without the hazard of a public
 ‘ convulsion.’ This was no crude sugges-
 tion: he repeated it afterwards in a letter
 to Lord TEMPLE: and as his opinion on
 this subject has been doubted, it will not be
 improper to state, in a note, the public use
 that was made of this letter*. All argu-
 ments

* KENNET MAYOR. A Common Council holden in
 the Chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on
 Friday the seventh day of April, 1780. A Member pre-
 sented to this Court an extract of a letter from the late Earl
 of CHATHAM to the late Earl TEMPLE, dated April 17,
 1771, which was read, and ordered to be entered in the
 Journals of this Court, as follows:

“ Allow a speculator, in a great chair, to add, that a
 plan for more *equal Representation*, by additional *Knights of
 the Shire*, seems highly seasonable; and to shorten the *dura-
 tion* of Parliaments not less so. If your Lordship should
 approve,

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ments were in vain. The Court Lords called for *the Question! the Question!* and put a negative upon it.

approve, could Lord LYTTLETON's caution be brought to taste those ideas, we should take possession of strong ground, let who will decline to follow us. One line of men, I am assured, will zealously support, and a respectable weight of law. *Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti.*" Signed by order of the Court. R I X.

There is another anecdote of Lord CHATHAM upon this subject, which deserves a place here. It is given by the Earl of BUCHAN, in his character of Thomson, the poet.

"The highest encomium of Thomson is to be given him on account of his attachment to the cause of civil and political liberty. A free Constitution of Government, or what I would beg leave to call the *autocracy* of the people is the panacea of moral diseases; and after having been sought for in vain for ages, has been discovered in the bosom of truth, and at the feet of philosophy; the printing-press has been the dispensary, and half the world have been voluntary patients of the healing remedy.

"Eighteen years after Thomson's death, the late Lord CHATHAM agreed with me in making this remark; and when I said, 'But, Sir, what will become of poor England, that doats on the imperfections of her pretended Constitution?' he replied, 'My dear Lord, the gout will dispose of me soon enough to prevent me from feeling the consequences of this infatuation. But before the end of this century either the Parliament will reform itself from within, or be reformed with a vengeance from without.'—
"Pythonick speech, speedily to be verified."

The

The session ended on the nineteenth of May.

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Lord CHATHAM retired into Somersetshire during the summer†.

† In the month of June the Princess of Wales went to Germany, and returned in October following. At Canterbury, and other places, she met with many insults from the people.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXIX.

THANKS OF THE CITY OF LONDON TO
LORD CHATHAM, AND HIS LORDSHIP'S
ANSWER—HIS SPEECH ON THE SEISURE
OF FALKLAND'S ISLANDS—SECRET AND
INTERESTING HISTORY OF THAT ME-
MORABLE NEGOTIATION—RESIGNA-
TION OF LORD HAWKE—PROMINENT
TRAIT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
—DOUBLE CABINET.

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LORD CHATHAM's Parliamentary conduct during the last session of Parliament, was highly approved by the nation. The testimony of the approbation of the City of London, at this time deserves to be particularly noticed. It was as follows.

On the first day of June, a Committee of the Corporation of the City of London waited on his Lordship in Pall-Mall, when Sir WILLIAM STEPHENSON, in the name of the Committee, addressed his Lordship to this effect;

My

MY LORD,

“ We have the pleasing satisfaction to deliver to your Lordship the grateful thanks of the citizens of London, for your Lordship’s most eminent public services; and we sincerely congratulate your Lordship on being equally distinguished in the direction of a glorious war, and in your endeavours to restore the principles of our most excellent Constitution.”

And then he presented the thanks of the Corporation, which are as follow;

BECKFORD, MAYOR.

A Common Council, holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Monday, the 14th of May, 1770.

A motion was made, and question put, That the grateful thanks of this Court be presented to the Right Hon. WILLIAM Earl of CHATHAM, for the zeal he has shewn in support of those most valuable and sacred privileges, the right of election, and the right

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Thanks of
the City of
London to
Lord Chat-
ham.

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right of petition; and for his wishes and declaration, that his endeavours shall hereafter be used, that Parliaments may be restored to their original purity, by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation; an act which will render his name more honoured by posterity, than the memorable successes of the glorious war he conducted.' The same was resolved in the affirmative, and ordered accordingly.

It is ordered, That the said resolution be fairly transcribed, and signed by the Town Clerk, and presented to his Lordship by Sir Wm. Stephenson, Knt. Barlow Trecothick, Brass Crosby, Esqrs. Aldermen, and James Townsend, Esq. Alderman, and one of the Sheriffs of this City; George Bellas, Esq. Mr. Deputy Thomas Cockledge, Mr. Deputy William Judd, Samuel Freeman, Esq. Mr. Arthur Beardmore, Mr. James Sharp, Mr. Deputy Richard Townsend, and Mr. John Anderson, Commoners,

HODGES.

To

To which his Lordship was pleased immediately to reply:

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“ GENTLEMEN,

“ It is not easy for me to give expression to all I feel, on the extraordinary honour done to my public conduct by the City of London; a body so highly respectable on every account; but above all, for their constant assertions of the birth-rights of Englishmen, in every great crisis of the Constitution.

His Lord-  
ship's an-  
swer.

“ In our present unhappy situation, my duty shall be on all proper occasions, to add the zealous endeavours of an individual to those legal exertions of Constitutional rights, which, to their everlasting honour, the City of London has made in defence of freedom of election, and freedom of petition, and for obtaining effectual reparation to the electors of Great Britain.

“ As to one point among the declarations which I am understood to have made, of my wishes for the public, permit me to say  
there

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there has been some misapprehension; for with all my deference to the sentiments of the City, I am bound to declare, that I cannot recommend triennial Parliaments as a remedy against that canker in the Constitution, venality in elections; ready to submit my opinion to better judgment, if the wish for that measure shall become prevalent in the kingdom.

“Purity of Parliament is the corner-stone in the common-wealth; and as one obvious means towards this necessary end is to strengthen and extend the natural relation between the constituents and the elected, I have, in this view, publicly expressed my earnest wishes for a more full and equal representation, by the addition of one knight of the shire in a county, as a farther balance to the mercenary boroughs. I have thrown out this idea with the just diffidence of a private man, when he presumes to suggest any thing new on a high matter. Animated by your approbation, I shall with better hope continue humbly to submit it to the public wisdom, as an object to be most deliberately

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liberately weighed, accurately examined, and maturely digested.

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“ Having many times, when in the service of the Crown, and when retired from it, experienced, with gratitude, the favour of my fellow-citizens, I am now particularly fortunate that, with their good liking, I can offer any thing towards upholding this wisely-combined frame of mixed Government against the decays of time, and the deviations incident to all human institutions; and I shall esteem my life honoured indeed, if the City of London can vouchsafe to think that my endeavours have not been wanting to maintain the national honour, to defend the colonies, and extend the commercial greatness of my country, as well as to preserve from violation the law of the land, and the essential rights of the Constitution.”

On the thirteenth day of November 1770, Parliament met.

About two months previous to the meeting of Parliament, an account arrived, of

Motion of  
Falkland  
islands.



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the Spaniards having seized upon Falkland's Islands. This act of hostility gave rise to a motion made by the Duke of RICHMOND, on the twenty-second day of November, To present an address to his Majesty, requesting his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give orders, that there be laid before the House copies or extracts of all letters and papers received by the Ministry between the 12th of September 1769, and the 12th of September 1770, containing any intelligence of hostilities commenced or intended to be commenced by the Court of Spain, or any of their officers, against any of his Majesty's dominions; and the times at which such intelligence was received.

Lord Weymouth.

The motion was opposed by Lord WEYMOUTH, upon the general ground of the impropriety of calling for such papers while the matter in question was the subject of a negociation with the Spanish Ambassador. His Lordship carefully avoided giving the least light, or intimation whatsoever concerning the actual state, or progress of that negociation, and expressed himself with caution, and reserve. He concluded with  
moving

moving, That the previous question might be put.

The Duke of RICHMOND supported his motion by a train of facts; for the truth of which he repeatedly appealed to the Ministry themselves; and by a strength, and clearness of argument, which none of the other party even attempted to weaken or oppose. The main stress of his discourse seemed to rest upon the following facts; that on the third of last June, the *Tamur* sloop arrived at Plymouth, and brought an account, that a Spanish Squadron had appeared off Falkland island, and ordered our people to depart; that this was a clear commencement of hostilities:—that from the third of June, to the 12th of September, (above three months) when our garrison arrived on board the *Favourite*, it did not appear, that the Ministry had taken any step whatsoever for obtaining redress, or to put the nation in a state of defence;—that the first orders for equipping a fleet, were given on or after the 12th of September;—that this armament, such as it was, had not yet produced one visible effect;—that since the 12th of

Lord  
Richmond,

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September, near three months had elapsed, and still they were told, "*that the affair was in negociation, the negociation was still depending;*"—in that time three messengers had arrived from Madrid, and particularly one last Monday; and although three days had since passed, no communication had yet been made to Parliament of the intelligence he brought, or what was the final answer of the Court of Spain. That the terms of the motion plainly obviated the objection made by Lord WEYMOUTH, of its tending to impede a negotiation now depending; since it did not call for any papers of a date subsequent to the notice received by the Ministry of the hostility being actually committed; consequently could not reach to any letters written, or received, or to any negociation entered into, after the receipt of that notice; that he meant only to obtain for the House, some accurate information of circumstances leading to, and accounting for a fact, which was itself notorious and undisputed. His Grace went largely into the consideration of the disgrace, and infamy of suffering the honour of the Crown, and the rights of the people  
of



of England to be so long the subject of negotiation;—the folly or treachery of the King's servants in not accepting of the augmentation of seamen proposed and urged by the Lords in Opposition, early in the last session, when a proposal for strengthening the hands of Government had been rejected merely because it came from that quarter;—their supineness or treachery, in not arming early in June, when they heard of our people being warned to quit the island, by a military force threatening compulsion;—and lastly, the feebleness and slow progress of the armament they had made, and the disgraceful situation of the King, who stood with a public affront, and dishonour fixed upon his Crown, and without any attempt made, in the course of almost six months, to wipe it away. His Grace observed, that the hostile intentions of Spain were not only declared by the open hostility itself, but confirmed by two extraordinary facts, which he stated to the House, and which, after repeated appeals, stood uncontradicted by the ministry. He said, that after the Spaniards had taken possession of Port Egmont, they did not suffer the

Garrison to depart immediately, but took away the rudder of his Majesty's ship, and detained her by force for the space of twenty days;—that supposing they had a claim to the island, they had none to the King's ship; and detaining her was an express violation of treaty, by which, even in the case of an open rupture, six months are allowed to the subjects of each nation to remove their persons and property from the dominions of the other—The other fact seemed, and was urged as still more important. He asserted, that he had intelligence not to be doubted, that at this moment, there are in the several Spanish prisons not less than three thousand British seamen, (particularly at Ceuta on the coast of Africa) who had been taken out of our merchant ships by Spanish Guarda Costas, and condemned to perpetual slavery, or confinement. He then quoted a strong instance since the peace, and read the original letters relating to it, where five of our seamen had been demanded by one of our Admirals, and had been refused by a Spanish Admiral and Governor, who expressed a willingness to oblige him, but alledged that it would be a breach of their orders, and instructions.

These

These were the principal materials of his Grace's speech. The several parts were filled up with judicious and pointed observations, expressed in a clear, nervous language, and delivered with plainness and dignity.

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LORD HILLSBOROUGH took up the argument upon the same footing with Lord WEYMOUTH, but carried it much farther than his Lordship had done. He informed the House that he knew the contents of the papers called for, therefore could assert upon his own knowledge, that the production of them at that time would tend greatly to embarrass a negotiation already in a prosperous train, and which promised an happy conclusion;—He insisted much upon the delicacy of Spanish honour;—that it was their natural characteristic;—that infinite regard and tenderness, ought to be shewn to the punctilios of that court,—and begged of the noble Lords to consider how far these punctilios might unavoidably retard and embarrass a treaty of this nature;—that, as the Messenger only arrived on Monday morning, the Spanish Ambassador probably

Lord Hills-  
borough.



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bably had not time to make himself master of his dispatches, nor to determine upon the form and manner in which he should execute his instructions. The remainder of his speech, which was delivered in very high terms, and with a tone elevated above the pomp of tragedy, turned entirely upon the flourishing state of this country, and the prudence, vigour and vigilance of his Majesty's servants.

Lord  
Chatham.

Earl of CHATHAM. ' I rise to give my  
' hearty assent to the motion made by the  
' noble Duke; by his Grace's favour, I  
' have been permitted to see it, before it  
' was offered to the House. I have fully  
' considered the necessity of obtaining from  
' the King's servants a communication of  
' the papers described in the motion, and  
' I am persuaded that the alarming state of  
' facts, as well as the strength of reasoning,  
' with which the noble Duke has urged,  
' and enforced that necessity, must have been  
' powerfully felt by your Lordships;—what  
' I mean to say, upon this occasion, may  
' seem perhaps to extend beyond the limits  
' of the motion before us. But I flatter

' myself, my Lords, that if I am honoured  
 ' with your attention, it will appear that  
 ' the meaning and object of this question  
 ' are naturally connected with considera-  
 ' tions of the most extensive, national im-  
 ' portance. For entering into such confi-  
 ' derations, no season is improper; no oc-  
 ' casion should be neglected. Something  
 ' must be done, my Lords, and immediately,  
 ' to save an injured, insulted, undone coun-  
 ' try. If not to save the State, my Lords,  
 ' at least to mark out, and drag to public  
 ' justice those servants of the crown, by  
 ' whose ignorance, neglect, or treachery,  
 ' this once great flourishing people are  
 ' reduced to a condition as deplorable at  
 ' home, as it is despicable abroad. Ex-  
 ' amples are wanted, my Lords, and should  
 ' be given to the world, for the instruction  
 ' of future times, even though they be  
 ' useless to ourselves. I do not mean, my  
 ' Lords, nor is it intended by the motion,  
 ' to impede, or embarrass a negotiation,  
 ' which we have been told is now in a prof-  
 ' perous train, and promises a happy con-  
 ' clusion.'

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Lord WEYMOUTH. I beg pardon for interrupting the noble Lord, but I think it necessary to remark to your Lordships, that I have not said a single word tending to convey to your Lordships any information, or opinion, with regard to the state, or progress of the negotiation—I did, with the utmost caution, avoid giving to your Lordships the least intimation upon that matter.

Earl of CHATHAM. ‘ I perfectly agree with the noble Lord. I did not mean to refer to any thing said by his Lordship. He expressed himself, as he always does, with moderation, and reserve, and with the greatest propriety;—it was another noble Lord, very high in office, who told us he understood that the negotiation was in a favourable train.’

L. Hillsborough.

Earl of HILLSBOROUGH. I did not make use of the word *Train*. I know the meaning of the word too well. In the language from which it was derived, it signifies protraction, and delay, which I could never mean to apply to the present negotiation.

Earl



Earl of CHATHAM. ' This is the second  
 ' time that I have been interrupted. I sub-  
 ' mit it to your Lordships whether this be  
 ' fair, and candid treatment. I am sure it is  
 ' contrary to the orders of the House, and a  
 ' gross violation of decency, and politeness.  
 ' I listen to every noble Lord in this House  
 ' with attention, and respect. The noble  
 ' Lord's design in interrupting me, is as mean,  
 ' and unworthy, as the manner in which he  
 ' has done it is irregular and disorderly. He  
 ' flatters himself that, by breaking the thread  
 ' of my discourse, he shall confuse me in my  
 ' argument. But, my Lord, I will not sub-  
 ' mit to this treatment. I will not be inter-  
 ' rupted. When I have concluded, let him  
 ' answer me if he can.—As to the word,  
 ' which he has denied, I still affirm that it  
 ' was the word he made use of; but if he had  
 ' used any other, I am sure every noble Lord  
 ' will agree with me, that his meaning was  
 ' exactly what I had expressed it. Whether  
 ' he said course or train is indifferent---He  
 ' told your Lordships that the negociation  
 ' was in a way that promised a happy, and  
 ' honourable conclusion. His distinctions  
 ' are mean, frivolous, and puerile. My  
 Lords,

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' Lords,---I do not understand the exalted  
 ' tone assumed by that noble Lord. In the  
 ' distress, and weakness of this country, my  
 ' Lords, and conscious as the ministry  
 ' ought to be how much they have contri-  
 ' buted to that distress and weakness, I think  
 ' a tone of modesty, of submission, of humi-  
 ' lity, would become them better; *quædam*  
 ' *causæ modestiam desiderant*. Before this  
 ' country they stand as the greatest criminals.  
 ' Such I shall prove them to be; for I do not  
 ' doubt of proving, to your Lordships satis-  
 ' faction, that since they have been entrust-  
 ' ed with the conduct of the King's affairs,  
 ' they have done every thing that they  
 ' ought not to have done, and hardly any  
 ' thing that they ought to have done---The  
 ' noble Lord talks of Spanish punctilios in  
 ' the lofty style and idiom of a Spaniard.  
 ' We are to be wonderfully tender of the  
 ' Spanish point of honour, as if *they* had  
 ' been the complainants, as if *they* had re-  
 ' ceived the injury. I think he would have  
 ' done better to have told us, what care had  
 ' been taken of the English honour. My  
 ' Lords, I am well acquainted with the  
 ' character of that nation, at least as far it

‘ is represented by their court and ministry,  
‘ and should think this country dishonoured  
‘ by a comparison of the English good faith  
‘ with the punctilios of a Spaniard. My  
‘ Lords, the English are a candid, an inge-  
‘ nuous people; the Spaniards are as mean  
‘ and crafty, as they are proud and insolent.  
‘ The integrity of the English merchant, the  
‘ generous spirit of our naval and military  
‘ officers, would be degraded by a compa-  
‘ rison with *their* merchants or officers.  
‘ With their ministers I have often been  
‘ obliged to negotiate, and never met with  
‘ an instance of candour or dignity in their  
‘ proceedings; nothing but low cunning,  
‘ trick, and artifice. After a long experience  
‘ of their want of candour and good faith,  
‘ I found myself compelled to talk to them  
‘ in a peremptory, decisive language. On  
‘ this principle I submitted my advice to a  
‘ trembling council for an immediate decla-  
‘ ration of a war with Spain. Your Lord-  
‘ ships well know what were the conse-  
‘ quences of not following that advice.  
‘ Since, however, for reasons unknown to  
‘ me, it has been thought advisable to nego-  
‘ tiate with the court of Spain, I should  
have



' have conceived that the great and single  
 ' object of such a negotiation would have  
 ' been, to have obtained complete satisfac-  
 ' tion for the injury done to the crown and  
 ' people of England. But, if I understand  
 ' the noble Lord, the only object of the  
 ' present negotiation is to find a salvo for  
 ' the punctilious honour of the Spaniards.  
 ' The absurdity of such an idea is of itself  
 ' insupportable. But, my Lords, I object  
 ' to our negotiating at all, in our present  
 ' circumstances. We are not in that situa-  
 ' tion, in which a great and powerful nation  
 ' is permitted to negotiate.—A foreign  
 ' power has forcibly robbed his Majesty of  
 ' a part of his dominions. Is the island re-  
 ' stored? Are you replaced in *statu quo*?  
 ' If that had been done, it might then per-  
 ' haps have been justifiable to treat with the  
 ' aggressor upon the satisfaction he ought  
 ' to make for the insult offered to the crown  
 ' of England. But will you descend so  
 ' low? will you so shamefully betray the  
 ' King's honour, as to make it matter of  
 ' negotiation whether his Majesty's possessi-  
 ' ons shall be restored to him or not? I  
 ' doubt not, my Lords, that there are some  
 ' important

‘ important mysteries in the conduct of this  
‘ affair, which, whenever they are explained,  
‘ will account for the profound silence now  
‘ observed by the King’s servants. The  
‘ time will come, my Lords, when they  
‘ shall be dragged from their concealments.  
‘ There are some questions, which, sooner  
‘ or later, must be answered. The Mini-  
‘ stry, I find, without declaring themselves  
‘ explicitly, have taken pains to possess the  
‘ public with an opinion, that the Spanish  
‘ Court have constantly disavowed the pro-  
‘ ceedings of their governor; and some per-  
‘ sons, I see, have been shameless and daring  
‘ enough to advise his Majesty to support  
‘ and countenance this opinion in his speech  
‘ from the throne. Certainly, my Lords,  
‘ there never was a more odious, a more  
‘ infamous falsehood imposed on a great na-  
‘ tion—It degrades the King’s honour—It  
‘ is an insult to parliament. His Majesty  
‘ has been advised to confirm and give cur-  
‘ rency to an *absolute falsehood*. I beg your  
‘ Lordship’s attention, and I hope I shall be  
‘ understood, when I repeat, that the Court  
‘ of Spain’s having disavowed the act of their  
‘ governor is an *absolute, a palpable falsehood*.

‘ Let me ask, my Lords, when the first communication was made by the Court of Madrid, of their being apprised of their taking of Falkland’s Islands, was it accompanied with an offer of instant restitution, of immediate satisfaction, and the punishment of the Spanish governor? If it was not, they have adopted the act as their own, and the very mention of a disavowal is an impudent insult offered to the King’s dignity. The King of Spain disowns the thief, while he leaves him unpunished, and profits by the theft; in vulgar English, he is the receiver of stolen goods, and ought to be treated accordingly.

‘ If your Lordships will look back to a period of the English history, in which the circumstances are reversed, in which the Spaniards were the complainants, you will see how differently *they* succeeded: you will see one of the ablest men, one of the bravest officers this or any other country ever produced (it is hardly necessary to mention the name of Sir Walter Raleigh) sacrificed by the meanest prince that ever sat upon the throne, to the vindictive jealousy



' lousy of that haughty court. James the  
 ' First was base enough, at the instance of  
 ' Gondomar, to suffer a sentence against Sir  
 ' Walter Raleigh, for another supposed of-  
 ' fence, to be carried into execution almost  
 ' twelve years after it had been passed.  
 ' This was the pretence. His real crime  
 ' was, that he had mortally offended the  
 ' Spaniards, while he acted by the King's  
 ' express orders, and under his commission.

' My Lords, the pretended disavowal by  
 ' the court of Spain is as ridiculous as it is  
 ' false. If your Lordships want any other  
 ' proof, call for your own officers, who were  
 ' stationed at Falkland Island. Ask the  
 ' officer who commanded the garrison, whe-  
 ' ther, when he was summoned to surrender,  
 ' the demand was made in name of the go-  
 ' vernor of Buenos Ayres, or of his Catho-  
 ' lic Majesty? Was the island said to be-  
 ' long to Don Francisco Bucarelli, or to the  
 ' King of Spain? If I am not mistaken,  
 ' we have been in possession of these islands  
 ' since the year 1764, or 1765. Will the  
 ' ministry assert, that, in all that time, the  
 ' Spanish court have never once claimed  
 ' them?

‘ them? that their right to them has never  
 ‘ been urged, or mentioned to our minis-  
 ‘ try? If it has, the act of the governor of  
 ‘ Buenos Ayres is plainly the consequence  
 ‘ of our refusal to acknowledge and submit  
 ‘ to the Spanish claims. For five years  
 ‘ they negotiate; when that fails, they  
 ‘ take the island by force. If that measure  
 ‘ had arisen out of the general instructions,  
 ‘ constantly given to the governor of Buenos  
 ‘ Ayres, why should the execution of it  
 ‘ have been deferred so long?

‘ My Lords, if the falshood of this pre-  
 ‘ tended disavowal had been confined to  
 ‘ the Court of Spain, I should have admit-  
 ‘ ted it without concern. I should have  
 ‘ been content that they themselves had  
 ‘ left a door open for excuse, and accom-  
 ‘ modation. The King of England’s ho-  
 ‘ nour is not touched till he adopts the  
 ‘ falsehood, delivers it to his Parliament,  
 ‘ and makes it his own. I cannot quit this  
 ‘ subject without comparing the conduct of  
 ‘ the present Ministry with that of a Gen-  
 ‘ tleman (Mr. GEORGE GRENVILLE,) who  
 ‘ is now no more. The occasions were si-  
 ‘ milar.---The French had taken a little  
 ‘ island

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' island from us called Turk's island. The  
 ' Minister then at the head of the Treasury,  
 ' took the business upon himself; but he  
 ' did not negotiate: he sent for the French  
 ' Ambassador and made a peremptory de-  
 ' mand. A courier was dispatched to Paris,  
 ' and returned in a few days, with orders  
 ' for instant restitution, not only of the  
 ' island, but of every thing that the English  
 ' subjects had lost\*.

' Such

\* The state of the fact was as follows:—When the ad-  
 vice arrived in England, of the French having seized  
 Turk's Island, in the year 1764, a debate arose in the  
 British Council upon the measures necessary to be taken  
 with France upon that occasion. The whole Council,  
 one only excepted, were for a remonstrance to the French  
 Court, and they founded their opinion upon an appre-  
 hension, lest a spirited conduct might induce that Court  
 to break the peace, and by some unforeseen means, pre-  
 cipitate us into measures which might terminate in a rup-  
 ture between the two nations. The one who ventured to  
 differ from all the rest was the Right Hon. GEORGE  
 GRENVILLE. He urged the necessity of a spirited con-  
 duct as the only means of preserving the peace. That  
 France, who was unable to continue the late war, was  
 equally incapable of beginning another. That if we did  
 not immediately shew a spirited and warm resentment to  
 her behaviour on this occasion, she would certainly repeat  
 her insults, and accompany them with language that her  
 pride would oblige her to support, and thus silence or

tameness



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‘ Such then, my Lords, are the circum-  
 ‘ stances of our difference with Spain; and,  
 ‘ in this situation, we are told that a ne-  
 ‘ gotiation

tameness on our side would infallibly lead to a rupture. Upon this, the two Secretaries of State (at that time Lord HALIFAX and Lord SANDWICH) committed the whole negotiation to Mr. GRENVILLE. He undertook it, and sent for Count GUERCHY, who was at that time the French Ambassador at the British Court. In a short conversation which immediately ensued upon this subject, Mr. GRENVILLE told the Ambassador in plain terms, that the French forces who had invaded and seized Turk’s Island must immediately evacuate the same, and restore it to the quiet possession of the English. The Ambassador said in excuse for the conduct of his Court, that the King, his master, had claims upon that island, and that he was ready to enter into a negotiation upon them. To which the English Minister peremptorily answered, whatever claims you have, set them up, we will hear them. But first, the island must and shall be restored. We will not hear of any claims or negotiation while the island is in the hands of the French King. It is absurd to seize the island, and then talk of a negotiation about claims. When the island is restored to his Britannic Majesty, then, and not till then, will a single word about claims be heard or admitted. He concluded in a firm and determined manner to this effect. Sir, I will wait nine days for your answer, in which time you may send and receive advice from your Court, whether the King will immediately order his forces to evacuate Turk’s Island, and restore it to the full and quiet possession of the English, or not; and if I do not receive your answer at the end of  
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‘gotiation has been entered into, that this  
 ‘negotiation, which must have commenced  
 ‘near three months ago, is still depending,  
 ‘and that any insight into the actual state  
 ‘of it will impede the conclusion. My  
 ‘Lords, I am not, for my own part, very  
 ‘anxious to draw from the Ministry the  
 ‘information which they take so much  
 ‘care to conceal from us. I very well  
 ‘know where this honourable negotiation  
 ‘*will* end; where it *must* end.—We may,  
 ‘perhaps, be able to patch up an accom-  
 ‘modation for the present, but we shall  
 ‘have a Spanish war in six months. Some

nine days, the fleet that is now lying at Portsmouth [there was a fleet then at Portsmouth, waiting for sailing orders] shall sail directly to the island and reinstate it in the possession of the King of Great Britain. The Ambassador went away, and soon after returned to shew the British Minister the dispatches he had prepared upon the occasion. Mr. GRENVILLE gave him leave to insert the conversation that had passed between them. On the sixth day, a copy of the orders signed by the French King, for restoring the island to the English, arrived.

A similar measure of spirit was adopted by the same Minister with the Spaniards, who had drove our settlers from Honduras, to whom fourteen days had been allowed: upon which all was instantly and amicably adjusted.

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of your Lordships may, perhaps, remember the convention. For several successive years our merchants had been plundered—no protection given them—no redress obtained for them;—during all that time we were contented to complain, and to negotiate;—the Court of Madrid were then as ready to disown their officers, and as unwilling to punish them, as they are at present. Whatever violence happened was always laid to the charge of one or other of their West India Governors. To-day it was the Governor of Cuba, to-morrow of Porto Rico, Carthagena, or Porto Bello. If in a particular instance, redress was promised, how was that promise kept? The merchant, who had been robbed of his property, was sent to the West Indies, to get it, if he could out of an empty chest. At last the convention was made; but, though approved by a majority of both Houses, was received by the nation with universal discontent. I myself heard that wise man (Sir ROBERT WALPOLE) say in the House of Commons, “ ’Tis true we have got a convention and a vote of Parliament ;



ment; but what signifies it, we shall  
 have a Spanish war upon the back of  
 our convention."—Here, my Lords, I  
 cannot help mentioning a very striking  
 observation made to me by a noble Lord,  
 (the late Lord GRANVILLE) since dead.  
 His abilities did honour to this House,  
 and to this nation. In the upper depart-  
 ments of Government he had not his  
 equal; and I feel a pride in declaring,  
 that to his patronage, to his friendship,  
 and instruction, I owe whatever I am.—  
 This great man has often observed to me  
 that, in all the negotiations which pre-  
 ceded the convention, our Ministers ne-  
 ver found out that there was no ground,  
 or subject for any negotiation. That the  
 Spaniards had not a right to search our  
 ships, and when they attempted to regu-  
 late that right by treaty, they were regu-  
 lating a thing which did not exist. This  
 I take to be something like the case of  
 the Ministry. The Spaniards have seized  
 an island they have no right to, and his  
 Majesty's servants make it matter of ne-  
 gotiation, whether his dominions shall be  
 restored to him, or not.

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‘ From what I have said, my Lords, I do  
 ‘ not doubt but it will be understood by  
 ‘ many Lords, and given out to the pub-  
 ‘ lic, that I am for hurrying the nation, at  
 ‘ all events, into a war with Spain. My  
 ‘ Lords, I disclaim such counsels, and I  
 ‘ beg that this declaration may be remem-  
 ‘ bered---Let us have peace, my Lords,  
 ‘ but let it be honourable, let it be secure.  
 ‘ A patched up peace will not do. It will  
 ‘ not satisfy the nation, though it may be  
 ‘ approved of by Parliament. I distinguish  
 ‘ widely between a solid peace, and the  
 ‘ the disgraceful expedients, by which a  
 ‘ war may be deferred, but cannot be  
 ‘ avoided. I am as tender of the effusion  
 ‘ of human blood, as the noble Lord who  
 ‘ dwelt so long upon the miseries of war.  
 ‘ If the bloody politics of some noble Lords  
 ‘ had been followed, England, and every  
 ‘ quarter of his Majesty’s dominions would  
 ‘ have been glutted with blood---the blood  
 ‘ of our own countrymen.

‘ My Lords, I have better reasons, per-  
 ‘ haps, than many of your Lordships for  
 ‘ desiring peace upon the terms I have de-  
 ‘ scribed.

' scribed. I know the strength and prepa-  
 ' ration of the House of Bourbon; I know  
 ' the defenceless, unprepared condition of  
 ' this country. I know not by what mis-  
 ' management we are reduced to this situ-  
 ' ation; and when I consider, who are the  
 ' men by whom a war, in the outset at  
 ' least, must be conducted, can I but wish  
 ' for peace?---Let them not screen them-  
 ' selves behind the want of intelligence---  
 ' they had intelligence: I know they had.  
 ' If they had not, they are criminal; and  
 ' their excuse is their crime.---But I will  
 ' tell these young Ministers the true source  
 ' of intelligence. It is sagacity. Sagacity  
 ' to compare causes and effects; to judge  
 ' of the present state of things, and discern  
 ' the future by a careful review of the past.  
 ' ---OLIVER CROMWELL, who astonished  
 ' mankind by his intelligence, did not de-  
 ' rive it from spies in the Cabinet of every  
 ' Prince in Europe: he drew it from the  
 ' cabinet of his own sagacious mind. He  
 ' observed facts and traced them forward  
 ' to their consequences. From what was,  
 ' he concluded what must be, and he never  
 ' was deceived. In the present situation of



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‘ affairs, I think it would be treachery to  
 ‘ the nation to conceal from them their  
 ‘ real circumstances, and with respect to a  
 ‘ foreign enemy, I know that all conceal-  
 ‘ ments are vain and useless. They are as  
 ‘ well acquainted with the actual force and  
 ‘ weakness of this country, as any of the  
 ‘ King’s servants.---This is no time for si-  
 ‘ lence, or reserve. I charge the Ministers  
 ‘ with the highest crimes that men in their  
 ‘ stations can be guilty of. I charge them  
 ‘ with having destroyed all content and  
 ‘ unanimity at home, by a series of op-  
 ‘ pressive, unconstitutional measures; and  
 ‘ with having betrayed, and delivered up  
 ‘ the nation defenceless to a foreign enemy.

‘ Their utmost vigour has reached no  
 ‘ farther than to a fruitless, protracted ne-  
 ‘ gotiation. When they should have acted,  
 ‘ they have contented themselves with talk-  
 ‘ ing *about it, Goddefs, and about it*---If we  
 ‘ do not stand forth, and do our duty in  
 ‘ the present crisis, the nation is irretriev-  
 ‘ ably undone. I despise the little policy  
 ‘ of concealments. You ought to know  
 ‘ the whole of your situation. If the in-  
 ‘ formation

formation be new to the Ministry, let them take care to profit by it. I mean to rouse, to alarm the whole nation---to rouse the Ministry, if possible, who seem awake to nothing but the preservation of their places---to awaken the King.

Early in the last spring, a motion was made in Parliament, for enquiring into the state of the Navy, and an augmentation of six thousand seamen was offered to the Ministry. They refused to give us any insight into the condition of the Navy, and rejected the augmentation. Early in June they received advice of a commencement of hostilities by a Spanish armament, which had warned the King's garrison to quit an island belonging to his Majesty. From that to 12th of September, as if nothing had happened, they lay dormant. Not a man was raised, not a single ship put into commission. From the 12th of September, when they heard of the first blow being actually struck, we are to date the beginning of their preparations for defence. Let us now enquire, my Lords, what expedition they have used,

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used, what vigour they have exerted.  
We have heard wonders of the diligence  
employed in impressing, of the large  
bounties offered, and the number of ships  
put into commission. These have been  
been, for some time past, the constant  
topics of Ministerial boast and triumph.  
Without regarding the description, let us  
look to the substance. I tell your lord-  
ships that, with all this vigour and expe-  
dition, they have not, in a period of con-  
siderably more than two months, raised  
ten thousand seamen. I mention that  
number, meaning to speak largely, though  
in my own breast, I am convinced that  
the number does not exceed eight thou-  
sand. But it is said they have ordered  
forty ships of the line into commission.  
My Lords, upon this subject I can speak  
with knowledge---I have been conversant  
in these matters, and draw my informati-  
on from the greatest and most respectable  
naval authority that ever existed in this  
country---I mean the late Lord ANSON.  
The merits of that great man are not so  
universally known, nor his memory so  
warmly respected as he deserved. To  
his



' his wisdom, to his experience, and care,  
 ' (and I speak it with pleasure) the nation  
 ' owes the glorious naval successes of the  
 ' last war. The state of facts laid before  
 ' Parliament in the year 1756, so entirely  
 ' convinced me of the injustice done to his  
 ' character, that in spite of the popular  
 ' clamours raised against him, in direct op-  
 ' position to the complaints of the mer-  
 ' chants, and of the whole city, (whose  
 ' favour I am supposed to court upon all  
 ' occasions) I replaced him at the head of  
 ' the Admiralty; and I thank God that I  
 ' had resolution enough to do so. In-  
 ' structed by this great seaman, I do affirm,  
 ' that forty ships of the line, with their ne-  
 ' cessary attendant frigates, to be properly  
 ' manned, require forty thousand seamen.  
 ' If your Lordships are surpris'd at this as-  
 ' sertion, you will be more so, when I as-  
 ' sure you, that in the last war, this coun-  
 ' try maintained 85,000 seamen, and em-  
 ' ployed them all. Now, my Lords, the  
 ' peace establishment of your navy, sup-  
 ' posing it complete, and effective, (which  
 ' by the by ought to be known) is sixteen  
 ' thousand men. Add to these the number  
 ' newly

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‘ newly raised, and you have about twenty.  
‘ five thousand men to man your fleet. I  
‘ shall come presently to the application of  
‘ this force, such as it is, and compare it  
‘ with the services, which I know are in-  
‘ dispensable. But first, my Lords, let us  
‘ have done with the boasted vigour of the  
‘ Ministry. Let us hear no more of their  
‘ activity. If your Lordships will recal to  
‘ your minds the state of this country when  
‘ Mahon was taken, and compare what was  
‘ done by Government at that time, with  
‘ the efforts now made in very similar cir-  
‘ cumstances, you will be able to determine  
‘ what praise is due to the vigorous opera-  
‘ tions of the present Ministry. Upon the  
‘ first intelligence of the invasion of Mi-  
‘ norca, a great fleet was equipped, and  
‘ sent out; and near double the number of  
‘ seamen collected in half the time taken to  
‘ fit out the present force, which pitiful as  
‘ it is, is not yet, if the occasion were ever  
‘ so pressing, in a condition to go to sea.  
‘ Consult the returns, which were laid before  
‘ Parliament in the year 1756. I was one  
‘ of those who urged a Parliamentary in-  
‘ quiry into the conduct of the Ministry.  
‘ That

‘ That Ministry, my Lords, in the midst of  
‘ universal censure and reproach, had ho-  
‘ nour and virtue enough to promote the  
‘ inquiry themselves. They scorned to  
‘ evade it by the mean expedient of put-  
‘ ting a previous question. Upon the stric-  
‘ test inquiry it appeared, that the diligence  
‘ they had used in sending a Squadron to  
‘ the Mediterranean, and in their other na-  
‘ val preparations, was beyond all example.

‘ My Lords, the subject on which I am  
‘ speaking, seems to call upon me, and I  
‘ willingly take this occasion to declare my  
‘ opinion upon a question, on which much  
‘ wicked pains have been employed to dis-  
‘ turb the minds of the people, and to dis-  
‘ tress Government.—My opinion may not  
‘ be very popular; neither am I running  
‘ the race of popularity. I am myself  
‘ clearly convinced, and I believe every  
‘ man who knows any thing of the English  
‘ navy will acknowledge, that without im-  
‘ pressing, it is impossible to equip a re-  
‘ spectable fleet within the time in which  
‘ such armaments are usually wanted. If  
‘ this fact be admitted, and if the necessity  
‘ of



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' of arming upon a sudden emergency should  
 ' appear incontrovertible, what shall we  
 ' think of those men, who in the moment  
 ' danger, would stop the great defence of  
 ' their country. Upon whatever principle  
 ' they may act, the act itself is more than  
 ' faction----it is labouring to cut off the  
 ' right hand of the community. I wholly  
 ' condemn their conduct, and am ready to  
 ' support any motion that may be made,  
 ' for bringing those aldermen, who have  
 ' endeavoured to stop the execution of the  
 ' Admiralty warrants, to the bar of this  
 ' House. My Lords, I do not rest my  
 ' opinion merely upon necessity. I am sa-  
 ' tisfied that the power of impressing is  
 ' founded upon uninterrupted usage. It is  
 ' the *consuetudo Regni*, and part of the  
 ' common-law prerogative of the crown.  
 ' When I condemn the proceedings of some  
 ' persons upon this occasion, let me do jus-  
 ' tice to a man, whose character and con-  
 ' duct have been infamously traduced; I  
 ' mean the late Lord Mayor, Mr. TRE-  
 ' COTHICK. In the midst of reproach and  
 ' clamour, he had firmness enough to per-  
 ' severe in doing his duty. I do not know  
 ' in

‘ in office a more upright magistrate; nor,  
 ‘ in private life, a worthier man.

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‘ Permit me now, my Lords, to state to  
 ‘ your Lordships the extent and variety of  
 ‘ the service which must be provided for,  
 ‘ and to compare them with our apparent  
 ‘ resources. A due attention to, and pro-  
 ‘ vision for these services, is prudence in  
 ‘ time of peace; in war it is necessity.  
 ‘ Preventive policy, my Lords, which ob-  
 ‘ viates or avoids the injury, is far prefer-  
 ‘ able to that vindictive policy, which aims  
 ‘ at reparation, or has no object but revenge.  
 ‘ The precaution that meets the disorder is  
 ‘ cheap and easy; the remedy which fol-  
 ‘ lows it, bloody and expensive. The first  
 ‘ great and acknowledged object of national  
 ‘ defence, in this country, is to maintain  
 ‘ such a superior naval force at home, that  
 ‘ even the united fleets of France and Spain  
 ‘ may never be masters of the Channel.  
 ‘ If that should ever happen, what is there  
 ‘ to hinder their landing in Ireland, or even  
 ‘ upon our own coast? They have often  
 ‘ made the attempt: in King WILLIAM’S  
 ‘ time it succeeded. King JAMES em-  
 ‘ barked

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‘ barked on board a French fleet, and  
 ‘ landed with a French army in Ireland.  
 ‘ In the mean time the French were mas-  
 ‘ ters of the Channel, and continued so un-  
 ‘ til their fleet was destroyed by Admiral  
 ‘ RUSSEL. As to the probable conse-  
 ‘ quences of a foreign army landing either  
 ‘ in Great Britain or Ireland, I shall offer  
 ‘ your Lordships my opinion when I speak  
 ‘ of the actual condition of our standing  
 ‘ army.

‘ The second naval object with an English  
 ‘ minister, should be to maintain at all  
 ‘ times a powerful western squadron. In  
 ‘ the profoundest peace it should be re-  
 ‘ spectable; in war it should be formidable.  
 ‘ Without it, the colonies, the commerce,  
 ‘ the navigation of Great Britain, lie at the  
 ‘ mercy of the House of Bourbon. While  
 ‘ I had the honour of acting with Lord  
 ‘ ANSON, that able officer never ceased to  
 ‘ inculcate upon the minds of his Majesty’s  
 ‘ servants the necessity of constantly main-  
 ‘ taining a strong western squadron; and I  
 ‘ must vouch for him, that while *he* was at  
 ‘ the



‘ the head of the marine it was never neglected.

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‘ The third object indispensable, as I conceive, in the distribution of our navy, is to maintain such a force in the Bay of Gibraltar as may be sufficient to cover that garrison, to watch the motions of the Spaniards, and to keep open the communication with Minorca. The ministry will not betray such want of information as to dispute the truth of any of these propositions. But how will your Lordships be astonished, when I inform you in what manner they have provided for these great, these essential objects? As to the first, I mean the defence of the Channel, I take upon myself to affirm to your Lordships, that, at this hour (and I beg that the date may be taken down and observed) we cannot send out eleven ships of the line so manned and equipped that any officer of rank and credit in the service shall accept of the command and stake his reputation upon it. We have one ship of the line at Jamaica, one at the Leeward islands, and one at Gibraltar;

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yet, at this very moment, for ought the mi-  
 nistry know, both Jamaica and Gibraltar  
 may be attacked; and if they are attacked  
 (which God forbid) they must fall. No-  
 thing can prevent it but the appearance  
 of a superior squadron. It is true that,  
 some two months ago, four ships of the  
 line were ordered from Portsmouth, and  
 one from Plymouth, to carry a relief  
 from Ireland to Gibraltar. These ships,  
 my Lords, a week ago, were still in port.  
 If, upon their arrival at Gibraltar, they  
 should find the Bay possessed by a su-  
 perior squadron, the relief cannot be  
 landed; and if it could be landed, of  
 what force do your Lordships think it  
 consists? Two regiments, of four hun-  
 dred men each, at a time like this, are  
 sent to secure a place of such importance  
 as Gibraltar! a place which it is univer-  
 sally agreed cannot hold against a vigor-  
 ous attack from the sea, if once the enemy  
 should be so far masters of the Bay as to  
 make good a landing even with a mode-  
 rate force. The indispensable service of  
 the lines requires at least four thousand  
 men. The present garrison consists of  
 about

about two thousand three hundred; so that, if the relief should be fortunate enough to get on shore, they will want eight hundred men of their necessary complement.

Let us now, my Lords, turn our eyes homewards. When the defence of Great Britain or Ireland is in question, it is no longer a point of honour; it is not the security of foreign commerce, or foreign possessions; we are to contend for the very being of the state. I have good authority to assure your Lordships that the Spaniards have now a fleet at Ferrol, completely manned and ready to sail, which we are in no condition to meet. We could not this day send out eleven ships of the line properly equipped, and to-morrow the enemy may be masters of the Channel. It is unnecessary to press the consequences of these facts upon your Lordships minds. If the enemy were to land in full force, either upon this coast or in Ireland, where is your army? where is your defence? My Lords, if the House of Bourbon make a wise and vigorous use of the actual advantages they have over



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us, it is more than probable that on this day month we may not be a nation. What military force can the ministry shew to answer any sudden demand? I do not speak of foreign expeditions, or offensive operations. I speak of the interior defence of Ireland, and of this country. You have a nominal army of seventy battalions, besides guards and cavalry. But what is the establishment of these battalions? Supposing they were complete to the numbers allowed (which I know they are not) each regiment would consist of something less than four hundred men, rank and file. Are these battalions complete? Have any orders been given for an augmentation, or do the ministry mean to continue them upon their present low establishment? When America, the West Indies, Gibraltar, and Minorca, are taken care of, consider, my Lords, what part of this army will remain to defend Ireland and Great Britain? This subject, my Lords, leads me to considerations of foreign policy and foreign alliance. It is more connected with them than your Lordships may at first imagine. When I compare the numbers of our people, estimated

‘timated highly at seven millions, with the  
 ‘population of France and Spain, usually  
 ‘computed at twenty-five millions, I see a  
 ‘clear, self-evident impossibility for this  
 ‘country to contend with the united power  
 ‘of the House of Bourbon, merely upon  
 ‘the strength of its own resources. They  
 ‘who talk of confining a great war to naval  
 ‘operations only, speak without knowledge  
 ‘or experience. We can no more com-  
 ‘mand the disposition than the events of  
 ‘a war. Where ever we are attacked,  
 ‘there we must defend.

‘I have been much abused, my Lords,  
 ‘for supporting a war, which it has been  
 ‘the fashion to call *my* German war. But  
 ‘I can affirm, with a clear conscience, that  
 ‘that abuse has been thrown upon me by  
 ‘men, who were either unacquainted with  
 ‘facts, or had an interest in misrepresenting  
 ‘them. I shall speak plainly and frankly  
 ‘to your Lordships upon this, as I do upon  
 ‘every occasion. That I did in Parliament  
 ‘oppose, to the utmost of my power, our  
 ‘engaging in a German war, is most true;  
 ‘and if the same circumstance were to  
 ‘recur, I would act the same part, and op-  
 ‘pose

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' pose it again. But when I was called  
 ' upon to take a share in the administration,  
 ' that measure was already decided. Be-  
 ' fore I was appointed Secretary of State,  
 ' the first treaty with the King of Prussia  
 ' was signed, and not only ratified by the  
 ' crown; but approved of and confirmed  
 ' by a resolution of both Houses of Par-  
 ' liament. It was a weight fastened upon  
 ' my neck. By that treaty, the honour of  
 ' the crown and the honour of our nation  
 ' were equally engaged. How I could re-  
 ' cede from such an engagement; how I  
 ' could advise the crown to desert a great  
 ' prince in the midst of those difficulties, in  
 ' which a reliance upon the good faith of  
 ' this country had contributed to involve  
 ' him, are questions I willingly submit to  
 ' your Lordships candor. That wonderful  
 ' man might, perhaps, have extricated him-  
 ' self from his difficulties without our assis-  
 ' tance. He has talents which, in every  
 ' thing that touches the human capacity,  
 ' do honour to the human mind. But how  
 ' would England have supported that repu-  
 ' tation of credit and good faith, by which  
 ' we have been distinguished in Europe?  
 ' What other foreign power would have  
 ' fought



‘ fought our friendship? What other foreign power would have accepted of an alliance with us?

‘ But, my Lords, though I wholly condemn our entering into any engagements which tend to involve us in a continental war, I do not admit that alliances with some of the German princes are either detrimental or useless. They *may be*, my Lords, not only useful, but necessary. I hope, indeed, I shall never see an army of foreign auxiliaries in Great Britain; we do not want it. If our people are united; if they are attached to the King, and place a confidence in his government, we have an internal strength sufficient to repel any foreign invasion. With respect to Ireland, my Lords, I am not of the same opinion. If a powerful foreign army were landed in that kingdom, with arms ready to be put into the hands of the Roman Catholics, I declare freely to your Lordships, that I should heartily wish it were possible to collect twenty thousand German protestants, whether from Hesse or Brunswick, or Wolfenbottle, or even the unpopular Hanoverian, and land them in Ireland. I wish it, my Lords, because

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‘ I am convinced that, whenever the case  
‘ happens, we shall have no English army  
‘ to spare.

‘ I have taken a wide circuit, my Lords;  
‘ and trespassed, I fear, too long upon  
‘ your Lordships patience. Yet I cannot  
‘ conclude without endeavouring to bring  
‘ home your thoughts to an object more  
‘ immediately interesting to us than any I  
‘ have yet considered; I mean the internal  
‘ condition of this country. We may look  
‘ abroad for wealth, or triumphs, or luxury;  
‘ but England, my Lords, is the main stay,  
‘ the last resort of the whole empire. To  
‘ this point every scheme of policy, whether  
‘ foreign or domestic, should ultimately  
‘ refer. Have any measures been taken to  
‘ satisfy, or to unite the people? Are the  
‘ grievances they have so long complained  
‘ of removed? or do they stand not only  
‘ unredressed, but aggravated? Is the right  
‘ of free election restored to the elective  
‘ body? My Lords, I myself am one of the  
‘ people. I esteem that security and inde-  
‘ pendence, which is the original birthright  
‘ of an Englishman, far beyond the privi-  
‘ leges, however splendid, which are an-

‘ nexed to the peerage. I myself am by  
‘ birth an English elector, and join with the  
‘ freeholders of England as in a common  
‘ cause. Believe me, my Lords, we mistake  
‘ our real interest as much as our duty,  
‘ when we separate ourselves from the mass  
‘ of the people. Can it be expected that  
‘ Englishmen will unite heartily in defence  
‘ of a government, by which they feel them-  
‘ selves insulted and oppressed? Restore  
‘ them to their rights; that is the true way  
‘ to make them unanimous. It is not a  
‘ ceremonious recommendation from the  
‘ throne, that can bring back peace and  
‘ harmony to a discontented people. That  
‘ insipid annual opiate has been adminis-  
‘ tered so long, that it has lost its effect.  
‘ Something substantial, something effectual  
‘ must be done,

‘ The public credit of the nation stands  
‘ next in degree to the rights of the consti-  
‘ tution; it calls loudly for the interposition  
‘ of Parliament. There is a set of men, my  
‘ Lords, in the city of London, who are  
‘ known to live in riot and luxury, upon  
‘ the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent,  
the



' the helpless—upon that part of the com-  
 ' munity, which stands most in need of, and  
 ' best deserves the care and protection of  
 ' legislature. To me, my Lords, whether  
 ' they be miserable jobbers of 'Change-alley,  
 ' or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leaden-  
 ' hall-street, they are all equally detestable.  
 ' I care but little whether a man walks on  
 ' foot, or is drawn by eight horses or six  
 ' horses; if his luxury be supported by the  
 ' plunder of his country, I despise and de-  
 ' test him. My Lords, while I had the ho-  
 ' nour of serving his Majesty, I never ven-  
 ' tured to look at the Treasury but at a  
 ' distance; it is a business I am unfit for,  
 ' and to which I never could have sub-  
 ' mitted. The little I know of it has not  
 ' served to raise my opinion of what is vul-  
 ' garly called the *monied interest*; I mean  
 ' that blood-sucker, that muckworm, which  
 ' calls itself the friend of government—that  
 ' pretends to serve this or that administra-  
 ' tion, and may be purchased, on the same  
 ' terms, by any administration—that ad-  
 ' vances money to government, and takes  
 ' special care of its own emoluments. Un-  
 ' der this description I include the whole  
 ' race

' race of commissaries, jobbers, contractors,  
 ' clothiers, and remitters. Yet I do not  
 ' deny that, even with these creatures some  
 ' management may be necessary. I hope,  
 ' my Lords, that nothing I have said will  
 ' be understood to extend to the honest,  
 ' industrious tradesman, who holds the mid-  
 ' dle rank, and has given repeated proofs,  
 ' that he prefers law and liberty to gold.  
 ' I love that class of men. Much less  
 ' would I be thought to reflect upon the  
 ' fair merchant, whose liberal commerce is  
 ' the prime source of national wealth. I  
 ' esteem his occupation, and respect his  
 ' character.

' My Lords, if the general representation,  
 ' which I have had the honour to lay before  
 ' you of the situation of public affairs, has,  
 ' in any measure, engaged your attention;  
 ' your Lordships, I am sure, will agree with  
 ' me, that the season calls for more than  
 ' common prudence and vigour in the  
 ' direction of our Councils. The diffi-  
 ' culty of the crisis demands a wise, a  
 ' firm and a popular administration. The  
 ' dishonourable traffic of places has engaged  
 ' us

' us too long. Upon this subject, my Lords,  
 ' I speak without interest or enmity. I have  
 ' no personal objection to any of the King's  
 ' servants. I shall never be Minister; cer-  
 ' tainly not without full power to cut away  
 ' all the rotten branches of Government.  
 ' Yet, unconcerned as I truly am for my-  
 ' self, I cannot avoid seeing some capital  
 ' errors in the distribution of the royal  
 ' favour. There are men, my Lords, who,  
 ' if their own services were forgotten, ought  
 ' to have an hereditary merit with the  
 ' House of Hanover; whose ancestors stood  
 ' forth in the day of trouble, opposed their  
 ' persons and fortunes to treachery and  
 ' rebellion, and secured to his Majesty's  
 ' family this splendid power of rewarding.  
 ' There are other men, my Lords, (*looking*  
 ' *sternly at Lord Mansfield*) who, to speak  
 ' tenderly of them, were not quite so for-  
 ' ward in the demonstrations of their zeal  
 ' to the reigning family; there was another  
 ' cause, my Lords, and a partiality to it,  
 ' which some persons had not, at all times,  
 ' discretion enough to conceal. I know I  
 ' shall be accused of attempting to revive  
 ' distinctions. My Lords, if it were possi-  
 ' ble,



ble, I would abolish all distinctions. I  
 would not wish the favours of the Crown  
 to flow invariable in one channel. But  
 there are some distinctions, which are in-  
 herent in the nature of things. There is  
 a distinction between right and wrong,—  
 between Whig and Tory.

When I speak of an administration, such  
 as the necessity of the season calls for, my  
 views are large and comprehensive.—It  
 must be popular, that it may begin with  
 reputation.—It must be strong within  
 itself, that it may proceed with vigour and  
 decision. An administration, formed upon  
 an exclusive system of family connexions,  
 or private friendships, cannot, I am con-  
 vinced, be long supported in this country.  
 Yet, my Lords, no man respects, or values  
 more than I do, that honourable connec-  
 tion, which arises from a disinterested  
 concurrence in opinion upon public mea-  
 sures, or from the sacred bond of private  
 friendship and esteem. What I mean is,  
 that no single man's private friendships, or  
 connexions, however extensive, are suffi-  
 cient of themselves, either to form or overturn  
 an

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‘ an administration.—With respect to the  
 ‘ ministry I believe, they have fewer rivals  
 ‘ than they imagine. No prudent man will  
 ‘ covet a situation so beset with difficulty  
 ‘ and danger.

‘ I shall trouble your Lordships with but  
 ‘ a few words more. His Majesty tells us  
 ‘ in his speech, that he will call upon us  
 ‘ for our advice, if it should be necessary in  
 ‘ the farther progress of this affair.—It is  
 ‘ not easy to say whether or no the ministry  
 ‘ are serious in this declaration; nor what  
 ‘ is meant by the *progress* of an affair,  
 ‘ which rests upon one fixed point. Hitherto  
 ‘ we have not been called upon.—But,  
 ‘ though we are not consulted, it is our  
 ‘ right and duty as the King’s great, here-  
 ‘ ditary Council to offer him our advice.—  
 ‘ The papers, mentioned in the noble Duke’s  
 ‘ motion, will enable us to form a just and  
 ‘ accurate opinion of the conduct of his  
 ‘ Majesty’s servants, though not of the  
 ‘ actual state of their honourable negotiati-  
 ‘ ons. The ministry too, seem to want  
 ‘ advice upon some points, in which their  
 ‘ own safety is immediately concerned.  
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‘ They are now balancing between a war  
 ‘ which they ought to have foreseen, but for  
 ‘ which they have made no provision, and  
 ‘ an ignominious compromise.—Let me  
 ‘ warn them of their danger.---If they are  
 ‘ forced into a war, they stand it at the  
 ‘ hazard of their heads. If, by an ignomi-  
 ‘ nious compromise, they should stain the  
 ‘ honour of the crown, or sacrifice the  
 ‘ rights of the people, let them look to their  
 ‘ consciences, and consider whether they  
 ‘ will be able to walk the streets in safety.’

The motion was negatived by the pre-  
 vious question.

There are many interesting Facts in the  
 negotiation concerning Falkland's Islands,  
 which not being related in the papers laid  
 before Parliament, nor to be found in the  
 public accounts of this transaction, it is  
 presumed, they may, without impropriety,  
 be given in this place. The dates of the  
 public facts, the reader will find in the note\*.

The

\* On the 20th of February, 1770, two Spanish fri-  
 gates arrived at Port Egmont; and, in the name of the  
 King of Spain, ordered all our people to evacuate the  
 island.



The negotiation began on the 12th day of September, 1770. On that day the British

island. But Captain Hunt, who was the English commanding officer there, refused to obey; upon which, the Spaniards took possession of the island in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and gave the English notice, in form, to quit the same in six months.

On the 6th of March, Captain Hunt sailed for England, leaving Captain Fermor at Falkland's Island. He thought it the most advisable to bring intelligence of the above transaction to the Ministry at home; and, at the same time, leave a force at the island, to watch the motions of the Spaniards.

On the 30th of May, 1776, Captain Hunt arrived at Plymouth, and immediately set out for London, and acquainted the Lords of the Admiralty with every particular at Falkland's Islands. The King having expressed a desire to see his journal, it was carried to his Majesty by Sir Edward Hawke. Some account of this affair having got into the public prints, the Ministry immediately contradicted it in the strongest terms. Their writers asserted, that the Spanish frigates touched at Port-Egmont *only* to get fresh water; that the officers did not even go ashore, &c. (See all the London newspapers of June 9, 1770.) In about six weeks after the arrival of Captain Hunt, Prince Masserano, the Spanish Minister in London, acquainted Lord Weymouth, in a conference, that by that time the forces of his Catholic Majesty were certainly in possession of Falkland's Islands. Still no notice was taken.

The affair was kept secret until the 9th of September, when advice arrived from Spain, that Falkland's Islands

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tish Ministry sent their first memorial to the Court of Madrid. The Spanish Minister gave a short answer, that as the King of Great Britain had no Minister at Madrid, the King of Spain would send his an-

Islands were actually taken by the Spaniards. The same courier brought advice of the galleons being arrived at Cadiz.

On the 13th of September, the Admiralty ordered sixteen guardships to be got ready. This was the first alarm. The stocks fell considerably. More guardships were ordered, and press-warrants were issued. A few knew the cause, but the public were kept ignorant. Lord Holland, Lord Hertford, and several other ministerial lords, and their friends, sold large sums out of the funds. The Duke of Bedford's party were for preserving the peace at any rate; and Lord Rochford being of a different opinion, they tried to remove him. The King refused to comply with their wishes.

A *bon mot* at this time deserves to be noted. Lord Hertford asked Lord Rochford, at Court, *Well, my Lord, what news—peace or war?* Lord Rochford answered, *They are at seventy-nine, seven-eighths, my Lord.*

[During the negotiation between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Buffy, in the year 1761, it was discovered, that Mr. S——, one of the clerks in the Secretary of State's office, GAMBLED in the public funds, upon which he was instantly discharged.]

On the 22d of September, the Favourite frigate, Captain Fermor, arrived at Portsmouth, from Falkland's Islands, with the remainder of our people; the Spaniards having taken possession of the Islands on the 24th of June, 1770, with a superior force.

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swer to Prince MASSERANO, his Minister  
at London §.

It is necessary to observe, for the reader's information, that the system of the British Court, since the accession of the present King, has been to maintain *two* Cabinets---one *official*, the other *efficient*. The *official* Cabinet, consisting of the official Ministers of the several departments of the State, carried on the negotiation with the Court of Madrid. The *efficient* Cabinet, consisting of persons of lower rank, such as are commonly known by the denomination of *second-rate-men*, but who were honoured with the full and unlimited confidence of the Closet, car-

§ Upon Sir JAMES GRAY leaving Madrid in 1768, Mr. GEORGE PITT, now Lord RIVERS, was appointed his successor; but he never went: and the Secretary of the Embassy, Mr. HARRIS, now Lord MALMSBURY, whom Sir JAMES GRAY left at Madrid, was the only representative of the British Sovereign at that Court. Though at that time a young man, he conducted this negotiation, as far as he was concerned in it, with uncommon ability, and a very becoming spirit,

ried



ried on at the same time a counter-negotiation with the French Court.

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At the beginning of the negotiation, there was a disposition in both these Cabinets, to resent the insult of the Spanish Court; but after the return of the *Princess of Wales* from the continent, which was in the month of October, the tone of the *efficient* Cabinet was changed; and they more than once, opposed with success, the official Ministers. At length, on the fifteenth day of December, 1770, Lord WEYMOUTH, who was Secretary of State for foreign affairs, being wearied with delay and evasion, proposed in Council to recall Mr. HARRIS from Madrid. His Lordship followed the example of Lord CHATHAM, who, in 1761, proposed to recall Lord BRISTOL from the same Court. Lord WEYMOUTH's proposition was rejected; upon which he immediately resigned. Lord ROCHFORD succeeded to Lord WEYMOUTH's department; and adopting Lord WEYMOUTH's spirit, he adopted his Lordship's proposition also; for, at a Cabinet Council, held on the twenty-first, the proposition to recall Mr. HARRIS

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was agreed to. Whatever happened between the fifteenth and the twenty-first, to occasion this change of opinion in the majority of the Cabinet, is not exactly known; but it was said, that Prince MASSERANO had sent a letter to Lord ROCHFORD, written in such strong terms, as to induce his Lordship to menace the Cabinet with another resignation, if the proposition was not agreed to.

On the twenty-second, the counter-negotiation of the efficient Council, began to emerge from its dark chamber. The confidential Minister of the closet, held a conference with M. FRANCOIS, Secretary to the Embassy of France at the Court of London, upon the subject of terms of accommodation with Spain. This secret negotiation was unknown to the French Minister, M. le Duc de CHOISEUL; who had entered fully into the designs of Spain, and had firmly resolved to support that power in her intended war with Great Britain. At this time, there was a strong party in the French Court against CHOISEUL, consisting of Madame BARRE, the Princes of the

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the Blood, the Prince de SOUBIZE, and of other great persons; who had, for several months past, anxiously and eagerly wished to procure the dismissal of the Minister; but hitherto he had maintained his interest with the King, notwithstanding all their efforts against him. The King was now advanced beyond the climacteric of life, and affectionately attached to the season of peace; because it afforded him more opportunity to indulge in his favourite pleasures, than the period of war. For this reason M. CHOISEUL had not acquainted the King with his design of co-operating with Spain; by which he had flattered himself, that he should obliterate the disgraces of the late war. The design was discovered, or rather made known to Madame BARRE; who immediately prejudiced the King so strongly against the project of his Minister, that he yielded to her importunities; and dismissed him from all his employments\*.

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And,

\* At the end of the year 1770, Lord HAWKE quitted the Admiralty. The following paper, which is taken from the public prints of that time, seems to explain this resignation, and some other circumstances:

*January*



And, at the same time, exiled him to Chanteloux.—Several English, as well as French gentlemen,

January 15, 1771.

“ If Sir EDWARD HAWKE had followed the advice and example of his friends, he would not have been reduced to the dishonourable necessity of quitting the direction of the English navy, at the very moment it is going to be employed against the foreign enemies of England. To be left in employment, after Chatham and Granby had retired ;—to continue in it, in company with Gower and Hillsborough ;—are circumstances too disgraceful to admit of aggravation. It is natural to sympathise in the distresses of a brave man, and to lament that a noble estate of reputation should be squandered away in debts of dishonour contracted amongst sharpers.

“ His Majesty, God bless him, has now got rid of every man, whose former services, or present scruples, could be supposed to give offence to *her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales*. Her Royal Highness's scheme of Government, formed long before her husband's death, is now accomplished. She has succeeded in disuniting every party, and dissolving every connexion ; and, by the mere influence of the Crown, has formed an Administration, such as it is, out of the refuse of them all. There are two leading principles in the politics of St. James's, which will account for almost every measure of Government since the King's accession. The first is, that the prerogative is sufficient to make a lackey Prime Minister, and to maintain him in that post, without any regard to the welfare or to the opinion of the people.—The second is, that none but persons insignificant in themselves,

gentlemen, and persons of high rank, visited him in his exile. He was the first  
exiled

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selves, or of tainted reputation, should be brought into employment. Men of greater consequences and abilities, will have opinions of their own, and will not submit to the meddling, unnatural ambition of a mother, who grasps at unlimited power, at the hazard of her son's destruction. They will not suffer measures of public utility, which have been resolved upon in Council, to be checked and controuled by a secret influence in the closet. Such men consequently will never be called upon, but in cases of extreme necessity. When that ceases, they find their places no longer tenable. To answer the purposes of an ambitious woman, an Administration must be formed of more pliant materials; of men, who, having no connection with each other, no personal interest, no weight or consideration with the people, may separately depend upon the smiles of the Crown alone, for their advancement to high offices, and for their continuance in them. If such men resist the Princess Dowager's pleasure, his Majesty knows that he may dismiss them without risking any thing from their resentment. His wisdom suggests to him, that if he were to chuse his Ministers for any of those qualities, which might entitle them to public esteem, the nation might take part with them, and resent their dismissal. As it is, whenever he changes his servants, he is sure to have the people, in that instance, on his side.

"The Princess Dowager having now carried her plan of Administration into effect, it is not to be wondered that she should be very unwilling to expose herself, and her schemes, to the uncertain events of a foreign war.

She

exiled French Minister, who had ever been  
so honoured. In a free conversation with  
one

She knows that a disaster abroad would not only defeat the cunning plan of female avarice and ambition, but that it might reach farther. The mothers of our Kings have heretofore been impeached; and if the precedents are not so compleat as they should be, they require and will admit of improvements."

To this explanation of the prevailing *court system* of the period, it may be very proper to add a short account of another *prominent trait* in the character of the British government. The death of the Princess Dowager of Wales, which happened a few years afterwards, made no difference in this trait. Her political influence was only transferred.

The official ministers, of the several departments, had been chosen from the time of the accession, under the politics of Lord Bute, not upon account of any qualification of merit they possessed; but upon the condition of perfect obedience to those persons, who were honoured with the confidence of the closet. And that the condition of this obedience might be the more delicately enforced, it was the policy of the authors of this plan, and consequently the usual practice and course of business, that these *confidants* suggested the several measures which they thought proper to have pursued. Their suggestions being adopted, they were again suggested to the responsible ministers; who, in this mode of transacting public business, were assured that they were to answer only in an *official* manner; that is, each man, in, and for, his own department *only*. This was such a refinement of responsibility, as those who  
had



one of his English visitors, (General JOHN BURGOYNE) he candidly informed him of one part of his plan against Great Britain, if the war had commenced, which he intended—It was—to have landed an army in Essex; to have proceeded with the utmost rapidity to London, where they were to have burned the Bank and the Tower, particularly the first; but to have committed no other depredation whatever, and then to have returned with the same expedition. The troops were to have had no other baggage or incumbrance, than their knapsacks.

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had framed the safe-guards of the Constitution, at the time of the Revolution, had never conceived. In this mode of executing official duty, there seemed to be a responsibility, and yet there was none; for the crown being the executive power, the measures were decided and adopted, according to the opinion of the *secret advisers*. It is scarcely possible for jealousy itself, to imagine a pandemonium more dangerous than this. In approbation of this system, and this practice, a number of persons, who were favourites at Court, and who distinguished themselves by the appellation of *King's Friends*, promulgated, in language quite unreserved, *That His Majesty was always his own minister*. The best comment upon this text is, the diminution of the British empire, in consequence of the war with America. It was to this system that Lord Chatham alluded, in his speech on the second day of March, 1770, inserted in chapter 37.

His

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His principal object was, to annihilate the Public Credit of Great Britain, which he conceived the destruction of the Bank in London, would perfectly accomplish. It must be owned the scheme is feasible, and, perhaps not impracticable. There are always vessels enough at Calais and Dunkirk for such an expedition; and the vicinity of the garrisoned towns facilitates the assembling of an army, without creating an alarm. The anecdote may serve to put future Ministers on their guard; for, at that time, we had no force in any situation, to impede the operation, had it been attempted.

On the twenty-seventh day of December, 1770, the King of Spain held a grand Council; the result of which was, nothing more than a repetition, in different words, of the ultimatum which Lord WEYMOUTH had rejected. This result was sent to Paris, to be first communicated to M. de CHOISEUL, and then be forwarded to London; but that Minister being dismissed, the dispatches came into the King's own hands, on the second day of January 1771. The King read, and retained

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retained the dispatches; and immediately sent advice to the Catholic King, that he had been totally ignorant of the correspondence, and design of his Minister; and that he was resolved not to enter into the war: at the same time, offering his mediation in the preservation of peace. The Catholic King in his answer, put himself entirely into the possession of the King of France—he laid no restraint on his brother King, “but to preserve his honour”—he referred the whole case to him. Information of all these circumstances was regularly sent to M. FRANÇOIS at London. He, and not the Ambassador, was made the Confidant. But, in consequence of the Catholic King’s reference to the King of France, full powers to treat, were sent to the Count de GUINES the French Minister at London, with an assurance, that further powers *would be sent* to Prince MASSERANO. These dispatches arrived in London on the fourteenth day of January 1771. The Spanish Ambassador, however, refused to concur in any negotiation, declaring his reason to be, that as Mr. HARRIS was recalled, he could not negotiate upon any terms, expecting that  
his

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his own recall would be the immediate consequence. Five messengers were then sent to Mr. HARRIS, by different ways, to order him back to Madrid\*.

While Lord ROCHFORD was negotiating with Prince MASSERANO, Mr. STUART MACKENZIE was negotiating with Mons. FRANCOIS. At length, about an hour be-

\* This explains Lord ROCHFORD's letter to Mr. HARRIS, which otherwise appears inexplicable.

*St. James's, January 18, 1771.*

S I R,

THE KING having reason, from the information he has received, to believe that Prince de MASSERANO has orders to make fresh propositions of satisfaction for the injury done to his Majesty at Falkland's islands, I am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you return to the Court of Madrid, in order that you may be ready to hear any thing, which the Ministers of his Catholic Majesty may have in charge to say to you, on the same subject, and to carry on the usual intercourse between the two Courts, in case the above-mentioned propositions should prove satisfactory, and *as in the present circumstances your appearance at Madrid is very material, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you should not lose any time in your journey, on account of private affairs or inconvenience; and that you should remain there till his Majesty shall think proper to fill your place by a Minister of higher character.*

I am, &c.

ROCHFORD.

fore the meeting of Parliament, on the twenty-second of January 1771, a declaration was signed by the Spanish Ambassador, under French orders and a French indemnification, for the restitution of Falkland's Islands to his Britannic Majesty; but the important condition, upon which this declaration was obtained, was not mentioned in the declaration. This condition was, That the British forces should evacuate Falkland's Islands as soon as convenient after they were put in possession of Port and Fort Egmont. And the British Ministry engaged, as a pledge of their sincerity to keep that promise, that they would be the first to disarm\*.

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Two days after the Spanish Ambassador had signed the declaration, he received orders of recall; but his fate was like that of

\* These facts are confirmed by Count de GUINES, in his memorial against Messieurs TORT, ROGER and DE-  
FELCH, who had charged him with *gambling* in the English funds.

Colonel BARRE declared in the House of Commons, that Monsieur FRANÇOIS realized upwards of half a million sterling, by *gambling* in the English funds, during the period of this negotiation.

Mr.

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Mr. HARRIS, in a short time afterwards he received orders to remain.

During the month of February 1771, the Spanish Minister at Madrid, hinted to Mr. HARRIS, the intention of the Spanish Court, to require of the British Ministry, *a perfection of engagements, as they were mutually understood.* Mr. HARRIS's dispatch, containing this hint, was received by the Ministry on the fourth of March. Three days afterwards, a Spanish messenger arrived, with orders to Prince MASSERANO, to make a positive demand of the cession of Falkland's Islands, to the King of Spain. The Spanish Ambassador first communicated his information of these orders to the French Ambassador, with a view of knowing if he would concur with him in making the demand. On the fourteenth they held a conference with Lord ROCHFORD on the subject. His Lordship's answer was consonant to the spirit he had uniformly shewn. In consequence of this answer, messengers were sent to Paris and Madrid. The reply from France was civil, but mentioned the Family Compact. The answer from Spain did not reach

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reach London until the twentieth of April. —In the mean time, the Ministers held several conferences with Mr. STUART MACKENZIE—The result of the whole was, the English set the example to disarm; and Falkland's Islands were totally evacuated and abandoned in a short time afterwards; and have ever since been in the possession of the Spaniards.—The British armament cost the nation between three and four millions of money, besides the expence and inconvenience to individuals.

It is impossible to quit this subject, without offering an observation upon the system of maintaining a DOUBLE CABINET at this time in the British Court; equally notorious, unconstitutional, disgraceful, and injurious, as well to the honour of the Crown, as to the interest of the country.

No person will hesitate to say, that one of these cabinets was always under a *particular influence*. The whole series of this chapter, as well as the long note in it, concerning the resignation of Lord HAWKE, and the subsequent explanation of the  
*Court-*

*Court-System* in the same notes, indisputably announce, that there was established in the British Court, a system of government, that can be explained only by the master-key of *secret influence*. And when we look over the names of those, who have risen, in a few years, from situations of indigence to those of affluence and the peerage, (the *commis* of Lord BUTE for example, as well as others) we are not to wonder at circumstances, which, *prima facie*, are inexplicable; without the recollection of collateral events. Lord BUTE gave upwards of one hundred thousands for his estate in Bedfordshire, very soon after the peace of 1763. See the extract from the essays of *Anti-Sejanus*, in a note in chapter xxii. A description more explicit would be called a libel. To this bow-string the truth of history is often sacrificed.

## C H A P. XL.

LORD CHATHAM RENEWS THE DISCUSSION OF THE MIDDLESEX ELECTION—ATTACKS LORD MANSFIELD'S DOCTRINE OF LIBELS—INTERRUPTION OF THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER—VIOLENT DISTURBANCE MADE BY THE COURT PARTY—THE MINORITY SECEDE—MOTION RESPECTING GIBRALTAR—THE SPANISH DECLARATION—QUESTIONS INTENDED FOR THE JUDGES—MOTION TO RESCIND THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE MIDDLESEX ELECTION—LORD CHATHAM'S MOTION TO ADDRESS THE KING TO DISSOLVE THE PARLIAMENT.

ON the 28th of Nov. 1770, Lord CHATHAM moved, "That the capacity to be chosen a representative of the Commons in Parliament, being under known restrictions and limitations of law, an original inherent right of the subject, may be cognizable by law, and is a matter wherein the jurisdiction

CHAP.  
XL.  
1770.

Lord Chat-  
ham re-  
news the  
discussion  
of the Mid-  
dlesex  
Election.



CHAP.  
XL.

1774.

jurisdiction of the House of Commons (though unappealable as to the seat of their member) is not final or conclusive." ' His Lordship was very dispassionate, clear, and ' strong; enlarging on all the points of the ' Middlesex election. He urged the necessity of dissolving the Parliament, as a ' measure that would give universal satisfaction. That as to the impropriety of ' the two Houses of Parliament quarrelling ' it would be of no worse consequence than ' in 1704, and it is a point that ought to be ' settled: the liberty of the subject, the ' right of election, were invaded by an arbitrary vote of the other House, which, ' though only one branch of the legislature, ' had assumed the power of the whole. ' The people neither had, nor could have ' any confidence in a House of Commons ' which had committed so flagrant a violation ' of their dearest right. The present House ' of Commons were become odious in the eye ' of the present age, and their memory would ' be detested by posterity. Their having substituted Col. LUTTRELL for Mr. WILKES, ' he insisted, demanded the severest punishment—required a dissolution.

' Towards,

‘ Towards the end of his speech he made  
‘ a digression, to introduce another griev-  
‘ ance, which, he said, he was informed  
‘ prevailed in the courts of law, respecting  
‘ juries in the case of libels, and the judg-  
‘ ment of the Court which followed. He  
‘ conceived the direction of the Judge, not  
‘ formerly, but lately given to juries, to be  
‘ dangerous and unconstitutional. and the  
‘ judgment of the court, in many cases, to  
‘ have been cruel and vindictive. The mat-  
‘ ter of libel—of public libel---was generally  
‘ a *political* matter; and the question, whether  
‘ a paper was a libel or not, was not a question  
‘ of *law*, but a question of *politics*, in which  
‘ Ministers indulged their passion of revenge,  
‘ and the courts of law became their instru-  
‘ ments of gratification. See Appendix S.

Lord MANSFIELD, after many compli-  
ments to Lord CHATHAM, maintained his  
doctrine respecting libels.

Lord CHATHAM replied, ‘ that if he con-  
‘ ceived the noble Lord on the woolpack  
‘ right, his doctrine was, “ That a libel, or  
‘ not a libel, was a matter of law, and was

CHAP.  
XL.

1770.

“ to be decided by the Bench; and the  
 “ question to be left to the jury to deter-  
 “ mine, was only the fact of printing and  
 “ publishing:” to which Lord MANSFIELD  
 assented. His Lordship then expressed his  
 astonishment, declaring, ‘ that he had never  
 ‘ understood that to be the law of England,  
 ‘ and expressed his wish, “ that a day might  
 ‘ be appointed for an *enquiry* into the con-  
 ‘ duct “ of the Judges who had advanced  
 “ such a doctrine.” ‘ His Lordship observed,  
 ‘ that in a late case, it was declared from  
 ‘ the Bench, that if the verdict, instead of  
 ‘ guilty of printing and publishing *only*, had  
 ‘ been guilty of printing and publishing  
 ‘ without the word *only*, the officer of the  
 ‘ court would have entered it on the record  
 ‘ *guilty*.’

Lord CHATHAM’s observations on the  
 courts of law, respecting libels, occasioned  
 Lord MANSFIELD to move, that the House  
 might be summoned on Monday the 11th of  
 December. It was universally supposed that  
 Lord MANSFIELD was resolved to enter  
 fully into the subject on that day; but when  
 the time arrived, Lord MANSFIELD only  
 told



told their Lordships that he had left a paper with the clerk for their perusal. This brought up

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1770.

‘ Lord CHATHAM, who said, that the  
 ‘ verdict of the jury, in the case to which  
 ‘ the paper alluded, was “ guilty of printing  
 ‘ and publishing *only*,” that two motions  
 ‘ had been made in the Court upon this  
 ‘ verdict; one, in arrest of judgment, by the  
 ‘ defendant, grounded upon the ambiguity  
 ‘ of the verdict—the other by the counsel  
 ‘ of the crown, to enter up the verdict  
 ‘ according to the legal import. On both  
 ‘ motions a rule to shew cause was granted,  
 ‘ and in a short time after the matter was  
 ‘ argued before the Court. The noble  
 ‘ Judge, when he delivered the opinion of  
 ‘ the Court upon the verdict, went regularly  
 ‘ through the whole of the proceedings at  
 ‘ *Nisi Prius*, as well the evidence that had  
 ‘ been given as his own charge to the jury.  
 ‘ This proceeding would have been very  
 ‘ proper, had a motion been made from  
 ‘ either side for a new trial; because either  
 ‘ a verdict given contrary to *evidence*, or an  
 ‘ improper charge by the Judge at *Nisi*  
 ‘ *Prius*,

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XL.

1770.

‘ *Prius*, is held to be a sufficient ground for  
 ‘ granting a new trial: but when a motion  
 ‘ is made in arrest of judgment, or for estab-  
 ‘ lishing the verdict by entering it up accord-  
 ‘ ing to the *legal* import of the words, it  
 ‘ must be on the ground of something ap-  
 ‘ pearing *on the record*; and the Court, in  
 ‘ considering whether the verdict shall be  
 ‘ established or not, are so confined to the  
 ‘ record, that they cannot take notice of any  
 ‘ thing that does not appear on the face of  
 ‘ it; to make use of the legal phrase, *they*  
 ‘ *cannot travel out of the record*. The noble  
 ‘ Judge did travel out of the record. I  
 ‘ affirm, therefore, that his conduct was  
 ‘ IRREGULAR, EXTRAJUDICIAL, and UN-  
 ‘ PRECEDENTED; and I am sure there is  
 ‘ not a lawyer in England that will contra-  
 ‘ dict me. His real motive for doing what  
 ‘ he knew to be wrong, was, that he might  
 ‘ have an opportunity of telling the public  
 ‘ *extrajudicially*, that the other three Judges  
 ‘ agreed with him in the doctrine laid down  
 ‘ in the charge.’

Lord CAMDEN asked, if Lord MANS-  
 FIELD meant to have his paper entered  
 upon

upon the Journals. To which Lord MANSFIELD answered, *No! No! only to leave it with the Clerk.*

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1770.

After this business was over, the Duke of MANCHESTER rose. His Grace began with describing the state of the nation, and particularly the state of Gibraltar and Minorca; the former of which, he said, was utterly defenceless—Here his Grace was interrupted by Lord Gower, who desired that the House might be cleared of all but those who had a right to sit there. There was a standing order of the House, he said, that none but Peers should come there.

Interruption of the Duke of Manchester

The standing order of the House was then read, when the Duke of RICHMOND got up, and defended what the Duke of MANCHESTER had said, observing, that though it was very true any Lord had a right to order the House to be cleared, yet that their doing it now would alarm the people, who would immediately suppose they were *afraid* their proceedings should be known. Immediately a violent outcry arose, and all became noise, clamour, and confusion. *Clear*

Violent disturbance made by the Court party



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XL.

1770.

*the House! Clear the House!* was echoed from side to side. The Lords DENBIGH and MARCHMONT particularly distinguished themselves in pushing out the Members of the House of Commons, as well as strangers. The Duke of RICHMOND attempted to speak, but his voice was drowned in the clamour. Lord CHATHAM, shocked at the indecency of such a proceeding, rose, hoping that his age, his services, his abilities, would force attention; but these were not the charms to sooth that great assembly. Hands, voices, legs, were all employed to prevent the noble Lord (whose seat in that House was the reward of having saved the nation) from being heard at this moment.

Lord CHATHAM continued speaking, without being heard, for some time. He sent the Duke of RICHMOND to the Speaker (Lord MANSFIELD) to acquaint his Lordship that he wanted to speak to the construction of the standing Order. But he could not be heard. The taste was evidently for Lord DENBIGH's and Lord MARCHMONT's eloquence. Lord CHATHAM, at length wearied out with insult, declared, that if he was

not

not to have the privilege of a Lord of Parliament, and to be allowed the exercise of free debate, it was needless and idle for him to attend Parliament. He left the House; and about eighteen Lords had dignity enough to feel their own disgrace in the insult offered to him, and left the House to its own madness.

CHAP.  
XL.1770:  
Minority  
recede.

No sooner were these noble persons retired, than, as if the design of the Ministry had been to tell the world, that the presence of those noble Lords was the only circumstance that prevented their committing the most violent absurdities, they lost all discretion, and insisted on the Members of the House of Commons being turned out. In the crowd, some of the Members of the House of Commons represented that they were in the act of their duty, attending with a Bill; they were, however, forced to withdraw till the message was delivered, and they then attended their Bill in a pretty large body. They had no sooner delivered the Bill, than the outcry began again; time was not given them to see whether they would return of their own accord, but they were,

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XL.

1770.

Motion re-  
specting  
Gibraltar.

were, in an unworthy, unprecedented manner, literally driven out of the House.

Next day (December 12) the Duke of MANCHESTER made the motion he was prevented making the day before, and which was, to desire his Majesty would be pleased to send a proper force to Gibraltar, and the islands of Minorca and Jamaica, for their necessary and sufficient defence at this time. He shewed the naked state of all our possessions abroad, and our defenceless state at home; and all this was owing, he said, to the incapacity and pusillanimity of the King's Ministers, who were abhorred at home and despised abroad.

‘ Lord CHATHAM confirmed this melancholy state of our affairs; and added, that  
‘ he had received intelligence of *a plan*  
‘ *being formed to attack Gibraltar.*’

Lord SANDWICH said, there might be such a plan; and what then? Gibraltar, he said, was open to the sea, and we could retake it, if we pleased; though, upon the whole,



whole, he did not think it was of much importance.

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XL.  
1770.

The motion was negatived.

On the 25th day of January, 1771, the Spanish Ambassador's Declaration concerning Falkland Islands being laid before Parliament, the Duke of MANCHESTER moved, that the papers respecting the negotiation be also laid before the House.

Motion re-  
specting  
the Spanish  
Declaration,  
1771.

Lord ROCHFORD moved an amendment, restraining the motion to the subject of Falkland Islands. Lord SANDWICH moved another amendment, which, the Duke of RICHMOND said, narrowed the motion. Lord SANDWICH said, his amendment, instead of narrowing, enlarged the motion; upon which,

‘ Lord CHATHAM remarked, that this  
‘ generosity, in giving more than was asked,  
‘ was very suspicious; that if Administra-  
‘ tion had no objection to what was asked,  
‘ why not give it without making any alte-  
‘ ration in the motion? People would sus-  
‘ pect that something was meant to be con-  
‘ cealed. He said, he would not go into  
‘ the matter of the Declaration; but that,  
‘ upon

CHAP.  
XL.

1770.

‘ upon the face of it, it appeared an *ignominious compromise*. It was no satisfaction—  
 ‘ no reparation. The *right* was not secured,  
 ‘ and even the *restitution* was incomplete;  
 ‘ that Port Egmont alone was restored, not  
 ‘ Falkland’s Islands.’

The amendments being negatived, the Duke of RICHMOND moved, That the letters which passed between the British and French Ministers on this subject be laid before the House.

Lord ROCHFORD said he knew of none.

Lord CHATHAM supported the Duke of RICHMOND’s motion. ‘ He said, their  
 ‘ Lordships ought never to take the word  
 ‘ of a minister; that the refusing this motion  
 ‘ shewed that some *transaction* with France  
 ‘ had passed, perhaps not *papers* or *memo-*  
 ‘ *rials*. As Lord ROCHFORD said none  
 ‘ had passed, he believed him; but that  
 ‘ France had *interfered*, he said, he knew to  
 ‘ be a fact that could not be denied.’

This motion was negatived.

On

On  
 CHATHAM  
 address  
 Spain.

On the 5th day of February, Lord CHATHAM moved, that the following questions be put to the Judges:

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XL.

1770.

Questions  
to the  
Judges.

“ 1st. Whether, in consideration of law, the Imperial Crown of this realm can hold any territories, or possessions, thereunto belonging, otherwise than in sovereignty.

“ 2dly. Whether the Declaration, or instrument for the restitution of the port and fort called Egmont, to be made by the Catholic King to his Majesty, under a reservation of disputed right of sovereignty expressed in the Declaration or instrument stipulating such restitution, can be accepted or carried into execution, without derogating from the maxim of law before referred to, touching the inherent and essential dignity of the crown of Great Britain.”

The motion was negatived.

On the 13th day of February, Lord CHATHAM spoke against a motion for an address to the King on the Convention with Spain. But the Editor has not been informed



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XL.

1770.

Motion to  
reſcind a  
reſolution.

formed that any notes of either of theſe ſpeeches were taken.

On the 30th day of April, 1771, the Duke of RICHMOND made a motion to reſcind the reſolution of the Houſe reſpecting the Middleſex Election.

‘ Lord CHATHAM ſupported this motion  
‘ in the ſtrongeſt and warmeſt terms. He  
‘ entered largely into the conſideration of  
‘ the ſtate of the country; the depraved  
‘ ſyſtem of government, which had, in a  
‘ very few years, reduced us from a moſt  
‘ flouriſhing to a moſt miſerable condition.  
‘ He went through the whole proceedings  
‘ of the Houſe of Commons in the late bu-  
‘ ſineſs of the Printers, and arraigned every  
‘ part of it in the ſtrongeſt terms. He  
‘ warmly defended the City Magiſtrates in  
‘ the conſcientious diſcharge of their duty,  
‘ that the Houſe, in committing them to  
‘ priſon, without hearing their defence upon  
‘ the point of privilege, had been guilty of  
‘ a groſs and palpable act of tyranny; that  
‘ they had heard the proſtituted electors of  
‘ Shoreham in defence of an agreement to  
‘ fell

‘ sell a borough by auction, and had refused  
 ‘ to hear the Lord Mayor of London in  
 ‘ defence of the laws of England; that their  
 ‘ expunging, by force, the entry of a recog-  
 ‘ nizance, was the act of a *mob*, not of a  
 ‘ Parliament; that their daring to assume a  
 ‘ power of stopping all prosecutions by their  
 ‘ vote, struck at once at the whole system of  
 ‘ the laws: that it was solely to the mea-  
 ‘ sures of government, equally violent and  
 ‘ absurd, that Mr. WILKES owed all his  
 ‘ importance; that the King’s Ministers,  
 ‘ supported by the slavish concurrence of  
 ‘ the House of Commons, had made him a  
 ‘ person of the greatest consequence in the  
 ‘ kingdom; that they had made him an  
 ‘ Alderman of the city of London, and  
 ‘ Representative of the county of Middle-  
 ‘ sex; and now they will make him Sheriff,  
 ‘ and, in due course, Lord Mayor of Lon-  
 ‘ don; that the proceedings of the House  
 ‘ of Commons, in regard to this gentleman  
 ‘ made the very name of Parliament ridicu-  
 ‘ lous; that after repeated resolutions, by  
 ‘ which they had declared him amenable to  
 ‘ their jurisdiction, they had shamefully  
 ‘ abandoned the point at last; and, in the  
 ‘ face

CHAP.  
XL.

1778

' face of the world, acknowledged him to  
 ' be their master. That there remained  
 ' but one possible remedy for the disorders,  
 ' with which the Government of this coun-  
 ' try was notoriously infected; that to save  
 ' the name and institution of Parliaments  
 ' from contempt, this House of Commons  
 ' must be dissolved. This, he hoped, might  
 ' restore good government on one side—  
 ' good humour and tranquillity on the  
 ' other; yet that this was rather a hope in  
 ' him than any sanguine expectation. He  
 ' feared that it might prove only a tempo-  
 ' rary and partial remedy; that to resist the  
 ' enormous influence of the Crown, some  
 ' stronger barriers must be erected in de-  
 ' fence of the constitution. That formerly  
 ' the inconveniencies of shortening the  
 ' duration of Parliaments had great weight  
 ' with him; but now it was no longer a  
 ' question of convenience; the *Summa*  
 ' *Rerum* is at stake; your whole constitution  
 ' is giving way; and, therefore, with the  
 ' most deliberate and solemn conviction of  
 ' his understanding, he now declared him-  
 ' self a *Convert to Triennial Parliaments*.  
 ' His Lordship concluded with desiring that  
 the



‘ the House might be summoned for next  
 ‘ day, declaring his intention to move an  
 ‘ Address for the dissolution of the present  
 ‘ Parliament.—The motion was negatived.’

C H A P.  
 XL.

1771

Accordingly, on Wednesday the first of May, which was next day, his Lordship moved, “ That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully and earnestly beseeching his Majesty, that under the late violations of the rights of the Electors of Great Britain, in the election for Middlesex, still unredressed, and in the present conflict which has so unhappily arisen between the claims of the House of Commons on one side, and those of the people on the other, his Majesty will, in his paternal wisdom, deign to open the way to compose this alarming warfare; and that, in order to prevent the said House, and the Nation, from being involved in intemperate discussions of undefined powers, which in the extreme may endanger the constitution, and tend to shake the tranquillity of the kingdom, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to recur to the recent sense of his people, by dissolving, after the end of this

To address  
 the King to  
 dissolve the  
 Parliament

CHAP.  
XL.

1771.

session, the present Parliament, and calling, with convenient dispatch, a new Parliament."

‘ Having gone through all the arguments  
 ‘ which had been formerly used on this sub-  
 ‘ ject, he said, towards the conclusion of  
 ‘ his speech, that though no man prided  
 ‘ himself more on his attachments to his  
 ‘ native country, yet the proceedings of  
 ‘ those people who called themselves its  
 ‘ governors, had rendered it so disagreeable  
 ‘ to him, that was he but ten years younger,  
 ‘ he would spend the remainder of his days  
 ‘ in a country (meaning America) which  
 ‘ had already given such earnest of its in-  
 ‘ dependent spirit; nor should my advanced  
 ‘ age (continued he) even *now* prevent me,  
 ‘ did not considerations of the last conse-  
 ‘ quence (my bodily infirmities) interfere.’  
 —The motion was negatived.

The session ended on the 8th of May, 1771.

CHAP.

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## C H A P. XLI.

TWO INTERESTING ANECDOTES OF THE  
ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN WAR—  
IMPOSITIONS UPON THE PEOPLE OF  
ENGLAND—LORD CHATHAM'S SPEECH  
AGAINST QUARTERING TROOPS IN  
AMERICA—HIS SPEECH AGAINST THE  
QUEBEC BILL—HIS LETTERS TO MR.  
SAYRE.

**D**URING the two succeeding sessions C H A P.  
XLI.  
1772.  
1773.  
Lord CHATHAM did not attend Par-  
liament. Recent experience had convinced  
him, that his eloquence, his sagacity, his  
penetration, were of no estimation, in an  
assembly, where arguments more *tangible*  
than words, had made so deep an impres-  
sion upon the majority, that no language,  
no sense of honour or of danger, had power  
to awaken them to a just conception of  
their own disgrace and servility.

In the year 1774, the affairs of America 1774  
brought him forward again. Nothing else  
A a 2 could.

CHAP.  
XLI.

1774.

could. He resolved to make every attempt he was able, to avert the destruction, which he saw was inseparably attached to the measures the Ministry were pursuing.

Two interesting  
anecdotes  
of the A-  
merican  
war.

The History of the rise and progress of the American war, has been given in several books. But there are two Facts, respecting its origin, which seem to have escaped the observation their importance deserves.

Anecdote  
the first.

The first is respecting the East India Company.—When the duties to be paid in America on paper, paint, and glass, were repealed, it was pretended, that the Tea duty (which had been imposed by the same Act of Parliament) was left standing, to *serve* the Company. But this was not the fact. The tax was left unrepealed to preserve the *right*, as it was called, to tax the Colonies. That was the *true* motive. The *service* of the East India Company made no part of the consideration. The tea sent to Boston was that sort called *Bohea*, which was conferring no favour on the Company, but the reverse; for that sort of tea was no burden



burden to the Company. It was the sort called *Singlo*, which lay heavy on their hands, and of which all their warehouses were full. But the resolution was agreed to in a *private* Committee, when only *three* persons were present: Mr. BOLTON was chairman. A matter of such importance ought to have been agitated in a full Committee, which consists of eleven. The truth is, the Bohea was more saleable than the Singlo; it was therefore, the resolution of the Cabinet to send the most saleable: presuming, that the temptation to purchase being greater by the offer of good tea, than by the offer of an inferior sort, some of the Americans might be thereby induced to barter liberty for luxury, and, perhaps, a schism might be created amongst them. Had the question of determining the kind of tea to be sent to America, been agitated in a full Committee, it is more than probable, that the interests of the Company would have prevailed over the views of the Court. When the Directors were informed of the conduct of the Committee, they explained this distinction of the tea to the Ministry, and wished to have the Singlo

substituted. But the Ministry would not consent. It was again objected to, at the Minister's house. To the last application, Lord NORTH, being perhaps wearied with representations on the subject, said—" *It was to no purpose making objections, for the — would have it so.*" These were his Lordship's words: and he added, "*That the — meant to try the question with America\*.*"

The

\* The Author of *Historical Remarks on the Taxation of Free States*, formerly a respectable Member of Parliament\*, written in the year 1778, relates an anecdote of English taxation, which, as the book is in few hands, it may not be improper to insert here. [The author printed only fifty copies.]

"It was told me, says the Author, by an intelligent and most respectable Member of the last Parliament (Mr. WHITE, of Retford). That worthy old gentleman lived in friendship with Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, and I believe is the only man of that description, who never took an emolument from the *Minister*. He gave me this account of his giving up the Excise-scheme. The bill, having been opposed in every stage, was ordered to be reported. The question for its being reported, was carried by a majority of sixty. The nation was in a ferment, and there had been some dangerous riots.

\* For Liverpool,

The other is respecting the proceedings at Boston.—The tea was consigned to the Governor's

CHAP.  
XLI.

1774.

Second  
Anecdote,

"On the evening before the report, Sir ROBERT summoned a meeting of the principal Members, who had supported the Bill. It was very largely attended. He reserved his own opinion till the last: But perseverance was the unanimous voice. It was said, all taxes were obnoxious, and there would be an end of supplies, if mobs were to controul the Legislature in the manner of raising them. When Sir ROBERT had heard them all, he assured them, "How conscious he was of having meant well; but in the present inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force. That there would be an end of the liberty of England, if supplies were to be raised by the sword. If, therefore, the resolution was, to go on with the Bill, he would immediately wait upon the King and desire his Majesty's permission to resign his office; for he would not be the Minister to enforce taxes, at the expence of blood."

"No person appearing desirous of taking that office upon himself, Sir ROBERT gave notice, that he would adjourn the report for six months, which he did the next day.

"Tyranny is known, not by the foil, but by the fruits. And the hardest flaveries have been suffered in those states, where the forms of a free constitution remain; but where a spirit of justice, liberty and virtue exists no more." p.p. 80 and 81.

And

Governor's son at Boston. When the vessels with the tea arrived there, the people assembled on the wharfs in great multitudes, in order to prevent the tea being landed. Several merchants, and other persons of the first consequence in Boston, solemnly assured Captains of the vessels, that the inhabitants of the town were unanimously resolved not to suffer the tea being landed. The Captains finding this opposition, solicited the Governor's permission to return to England: for the King's ships were stationed in such a position at the mouth of the harbour, that no vessel could escape their vigilance. The Governor answered, that he could not permit them to depart until they had obtained proper clearances. The officers of the Customs refused to grant clearances until their cargoes were landed. This legal precision was not observed at the other ports in America, where the Captains

And in another place, he translates these words from Aristotle\*, "Tyrants, therefore, love to be served by the worst of men; they delight in servility; and their measures require an implicit obedience, to which men of liberal spirit cannot stoop."

\* Polit. l. 5. c. 120.

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Appen



finding they could not land their cargoes of tea, were permitted to return to Europe, without breaking bulk. But Boston seems to have been the place fixed upon *to try the question*. If the Governor had assisted the Captains, the tea might have been landed without much difficulty: it might have been put into the barges of the men of war, then lying there, and being escorted by the marines, it might have been safely lodged in the King's warehouses. But the design was otherwise. The Captains were obliged to connive at the destruction of the tea, in order to obtain their clearances, to return to England. The town was afterwards punished for this act of necessity, which might have been avoided. Thus the civil war was *created*—to try the question\* And the Governor (HUTCHINSON) was afterwards rewarded with a large pension,—There were many other provocations given to the Americans, besides the Tea Act; all

\* Nothing can more strongly shew the fixed resolution of the Court on this point than the words of his Majesty's answers, to the many petitions which were presented to him, beseeching and imploring him, repeatedly, to preserve his dominions. The reader will find them in the Appendix, X.

uniformly

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XLI.

1774.

Imposi-  
tions upon  
the people  
of England

uniformly tending to exasperate them to resistance.

Upon this occasion the Ministry resorted to the same methods to deceive the nation, which had been so successfully practised by their predecessors, and during the Administration of the Earl of BUTE; viz. *Hiring a number of writers, hiring a number of newspapers, and printing an immense number of pamphlets*, which were sent free of postage and expence, to every part of the kingdom. At the same time, all those writers and printers, who presumed to arraign the conduct of Ministers, were prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench. Addresses, highly flattering to Ministers in their contest with America, were procured from every venal borough and town. By the hired pens of Dr. S. Johnson, Messrs. Dalrymple, Macpherson, Stewart, Lind, Knox, Mauduit, &c. and other artifices, the nation was again deluded and duped. Upon this particular subject, to impose on the people, and reconcile them to this war of felony and suicide, Ministers had the assistance of another description of men, who

who were not less zealous, and, if possible, more dangerous. These were the American refugees—who were driven out of their own country, because they were traitors to it. These unceasingly practised the most diabolical impositions, through the channels of all the newspapers; and by pamphlets, arraigning the conduct of the British officers, in the basest terms; and possessing a geographical knowledge of the country, they were enabled to give a specious appearance of veracity, to the most infamous falsehoods. It is necessary to mention these impositions, for although every material circumstance relating to this contest, has been published in some shape or other, yet it will require a nice discriminating eye, and a correct judgment, to distinguish, on many points, the true from the false, representation—so artful and plausible, sometimes is the last.

‘ On the 27th day of May 1774, Lord  
 ‘ CHATHAM attended the House of Lords,  
 ‘ on the third reading of a bill for quarter-  
 ‘ ing soldiers in America.—He said,—My  
 ‘ Lords, the unfavourable state of health  
 ‘ under

Lord Chat-  
 ham's  
 speech  
 against  
 quartering  
 troops in  
 America.

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1774.

‘ under which I have long laboured, could  
‘ not prevent me from laying before your  
‘ Lordships my thoughts on the bill now  
‘ upon the table, and on the American af-  
‘ fairs in general.

‘ If we take a transient view of those mo-  
‘ tives which induced the ancestors of our  
‘ fellow-subjects in America to leave their  
‘ native country, to encounter the innu-  
‘ merable difficulties of the unexplored re-  
‘ gions of the western world, our astonish-  
‘ ment at the present conduct of their de-  
‘ scendants will naturally subside. There  
‘ was no corner of the world into which  
‘ men of their free and enterprising spirit  
‘ would not fly with alacrity, rather than  
‘ submit to the slavish and tyrannical prin-  
‘ ciples, which prevailed at that period in  
‘ their native country. And shall we  
‘ wonder, my Lords, if the descendants  
‘ of such illustrious characters spurn, with  
‘ contempt, the hand of unconstitutional  
‘ power, that would snatch from them such  
‘ dear-bought privileges as they now con-  
‘ tend for? Had the British Colonies been  
‘ planted by any other kingdom than our  
‘ own



' own, the inhabitants would have carried  
 ' with them the chains of slavery, and spi-  
 ' rit of despotism; but as they are, they  
 ' ought to be remembered as great instances  
 ' to instruct the world, what great exertions  
 ' mankind will naturally make, when they  
 ' are left to the free exercise of their own  
 ' powers. And, my Lords, notwithstand-  
 ' ing my intention to give my hearty nega-  
 ' tive to the question now before you, I  
 ' cannot help condemning, in the severest  
 ' manner, the late turbulent and unwar-  
 ' rantable conduct of the Americans in  
 ' some instances, particularly in the late  
 ' riots of Boston. But, my Lords, the  
 ' mode which has been pursued to bring  
 ' them back to a sense of their duty to their  
 ' parent state, has been so diametrically  
 ' opposite to the fundamental principles of  
 ' sound policy, that individuals, possessed  
 ' of common understanding, must be asto-  
 ' nished at such proceedings. By blocking  
 ' up the harbour of Boston, you have in-  
 ' volved the innocent trader in the same  
 ' punishment with the guilty profligates who  
 ' destroyed your merchandize; and instead  
 ' of making a well concerted effort to se-  
 ' cure

‘ cure the real offenders, you clap a naval  
 ‘ and military extinguisher over their har-  
 ‘ bour, and punish the crime of a few law-  
 ‘ less depredators and their abettors, upon  
 ‘ the whole body of the inhabitants.

‘ My Lords, this country is little obliged  
 ‘ to the framers and promoters of this tea-  
 ‘ tax. The Americans had almost forgot,  
 ‘ in their excess of gratitude for the repeal  
 ‘ of the stamp act, any interest but that of  
 ‘ the mother country; there seemed an  
 ‘ emulation among the different provinces,  
 ‘ who should be most dutiful and forward  
 ‘ in their expressions of loyalty to their  
 ‘ real benefactor; as you will readily per-  
 ‘ ceive by the following letter from Gover-  
 ‘ nor BERNARD to a noble Lord then in  
 ‘ office.

“ The House of Representatives, (says  
 “ he) from the time of opening the session  
 “ to this day, has shewn a disposition to  
 “ avoid all dispute with me; every thing  
 “ having passed with as much good hu-  
 “ mour as I could desire. They have act-  
 “ ed, in all things, with temper and mo-  
 “ deration;

“deration; they have avoided some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for removing some causes of former altercation.”

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XLI.  
1774.

‘ This, my Lords, was the temper of  
‘ the Americans; and would have continued so, had it not been interrupted by  
‘ your fruitless endeavours to tax them  
‘ without their consent: but the moment  
‘ they perceived your intention was renewed to tax them, under a pretence of serving the East India Company, their resentment got the ascendant of their moderation, and hurried them into actions contrary to law, which, in their cooler hours, they would have thought on with horror; for I sincerely believe, the destroying of the tea was the effect of despair.

‘ But, my Lords, from the complexion  
‘ of the whole of the proceedings, I think  
‘ that Administration has purposely irritated  
‘ them into those late violent acts, for  
‘ which they now so severely smart; purposely to be revenged on them for the  
‘ victory they gained by the repeal of the  
‘ stamp

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1774.

‘ stamp act; a measure to which they seem-  
 ‘ ingly acquiesced, but at the bottom they  
 ‘ were its real enemies. For what other  
 ‘ motive could induce them to dress taxati-  
 ‘ on, that father of American sedition, in  
 ‘ the robes of an East India Director, but  
 ‘ to break in upon that mutual peace and  
 ‘ harmony, which then so happily subsisted  
 ‘ between them and the mother country?

‘ My Lords, I am an old man, and  
 ‘ would advise the noble Lords in office to  
 ‘ adopt a more gentle mode of governing  
 ‘ America; for the day is not far distant,  
 ‘ when America may vie with these king-  
 ‘ doms, not only in arms, but in arts also.  
 ‘ It is an established fact, that the principal  
 ‘ towns in America are learned and polite,  
 ‘ and understand the constitution of the  
 ‘ empire as well as the noble Lords who  
 ‘ are now in office; and consequently, they  
 ‘ will have a watchful eye over their liber-  
 ‘ ties, to prevent the least encroachment  
 ‘ on their hereditary rights.

‘ This observation is so recently exem-  
 ‘ plified in an excellent pamphlet, which  
 ‘ comes



“ comes from the pen of an American gentleman, that I shall take the liberty of reading to your Lordships his thoughts on the competency of the British Parliament to tax America, which, in my opinion, puts this interesting matter in the clearest view.

“ The High Court of Parliament (says he) is the supreme legislative power over the whole empire; in all free states the constitution is fixed; and as the supreme legislature derives its power and authority from the constitution, it cannot overleap the bounds of it, without destroying its own foundation. The constitution ascertains and limits both sovereignty and allegiance: and therefore his Majesty’s American subjects, who acknowledge themselves bound by the ties of allegiance, have an equitable claim to the full enjoyment of the fundamental rules of the English constitution; and that it is an essential unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the British constitution as a fundamental law, and ever held sacred and irrevocable by the subjects

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3774

“ within the realm—that what a man has  
 “ honestly acquired, is absolutely his own;  
 “ which he may freely give, but which  
 “ cannot be taken from him without his  
 “ consent.”

‘ This, my Lords, though no new doc-  
 ‘ trine, has always been my received and  
 ‘ unalterable opinion, and I will carry it to  
 ‘ my grave, *that this country had no right*  
 ‘ *under heaven to tax America.* It is con-  
 ‘ trary to all the principles of justice and  
 ‘ civil policy, which neither the exigencies  
 ‘ of the state, nor even an acquiescence in  
 ‘ the taxes, could justify upon any oc-  
 ‘ casion whatever. Such proceedings will  
 ‘ never meet their wished-for success; and,  
 ‘ instead of adding to their miseries, as the  
 ‘ bill now before you most undoubtedly  
 ‘ does, adopt some lenient measures, which  
 ‘ may lure them to their duty; proceed  
 ‘ like a kind and affectionate parent over a  
 ‘ child whom he tenderly loves; and, in-  
 ‘ stead of those harsh and severe proceed-  
 ‘ ings, pass an amnesty on all their youth-  
 ‘ ful errors; clasp them once more in your  
 ‘ fond and affectionate arms; and I will  
 ‘ venture

' venture to affirm, you will find them  
 ' children worthy of their fire. But should  
 ' their turbulence exist after your proffered  
 ' terms of forgiveness, which I hope and  
 ' expect this house will immediately adopt,  
 ' I will be among the foremost of your  
 ' Lordships to move for such measures as  
 ' will effectually prevent a future relapse,  
 ' and make them feel what it is to provoke  
 ' a fond and forgiving parent! a parent,  
 ' my Lords, whose welfare has ever been  
 ' my greatest and most pleasing consolation.  
 ' This declaration may seem unnecessary;  
 ' but I will venture to declare, the period  
 ' is not far distant, when she will want the  
 ' assistance of her most distant friends: but  
 ' should the all-disposing hand of Provi-  
 ' dence prevent me from affording her my  
 ' poor assistance, my prayers shall be ever  
 ' for her welfare—*Length of days be in her*  
 ' *right hand, and in her left riches and ho-*  
 ' *nour; may her ways be ways of pleasant-*  
 ' *ness, and all her paths be peace!*

The bill passed.

Lord CHATHAM also attended on the  
 seventeenth day of June 1774, on the  
 B b 2 reading

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1774.

reading of the Quebec Bill, which he likewise opposed.

‘ He said, it would involve a large province in a thousand difficulties, and in the worst of despotism, and put the whole people under arbitrary power; that it was a most cruel, oppressive, and odious measure, tearing up justice and every good principle by the roots; that by abolishing the trial by Jury, together with the Habeas Corpus, he supposed the framers of the bill thought that mode of proceeding most satisfactory; whilst every true Englishman was ready to lay down his life sooner than loose those two bulwarks of his personal security and property. The merely supposing that the Canadians would not be able to feel the good effects of law and freedom, because they had been used to arbitrary power, was an idea as ridiculous as false. He said, the bill established a despotic government in that country, to which the royal proclamation of 1763 promised the protection of the English laws. Here the noble Lord read part of the proclamation



' mation; and then entered into the power  
 ' vested in the Governor and Council; the  
 ' whole mode of which, he said, was ty-  
 ' rannical and despotic. He was particular  
 ' on the bad consequences that would at-  
 ' tend the great extension of that pro-  
 ' vince; that the whole of the bill appear-  
 ' ed to him to be destructive of that liberty,  
 ' which ought to be the ground-work of  
 ' every constitution. Ten thousand objec-  
 ' tions, he was confident, might be made  
 ' to the bill; but the extinction of the  
 ' mode of trial above mentioned was a very  
 ' alarming circumstance, and he would pro-  
 ' nounce him a bold man who proposed  
 ' such a plan.

' When his Lordship came to the reli-  
 ' gious part of the bill, he directed his dis-  
 ' course to the Bench of Bishops, telling  
 ' them, that as by the bill the Catholic re-  
 ' ligion was made the established religion of  
 ' that vast continent, it was impossible they  
 ' could be silent on the occasion. He call-  
 ' ed the bill a child of inordinate power,  
 ' and desired and asked if any of that

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‘ Reverend Bench would hold it out for  
 ‘ baptism. He touched again on the unli-  
 ‘ mited power of the Governor in ap-  
 ‘ pointing all the members, and who might  
 ‘ consist of Roman Catholics only.

‘ He also took notice of an amendment  
 ‘ which had been made in the House of  
 ‘ Commons, which was a new clause, re-  
 ‘ pealing so much of the Act of Reforma-  
 ‘ tion of the 1st of Elizabeth as relates to  
 ‘ the Oath of Supremacy, and substituting  
 ‘ a common oath of allegiance in its place.  
 ‘ This act of Elizabeth, he said, had al-  
 ‘ ways been looked upon as one that the  
 ‘ legislature had no more right to repeal,  
 ‘ than the Great Charter, or the Bill of  
 ‘ Rights’—But in this he was greatly mis-  
 taken; for though several of the Reve-  
 rend Bench were present, not one of  
 them made the smallest objection to the  
 clause—they all divided with the Ministry.

The Duke of GLOUCESTER divided with  
 Lord CHATHAM against the Bill, but they  
 were in a minority.

The

The session ended on the twenty-second day of June, and on the last day of September the Parliament was suddenly dissolved\*.

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Lord CHATHAM's anxiety on the affairs of America may be further seen in the following letters:

*Hayes, Saturday evening, July 9, 1774.*

S I R,

I AM honoured with a very obliging packet by your servant, containing such marks of your kind and flattering attention to me, and my son, as command more thanks and acknowledgments than this short note, wrote in haste, can possibly convey. Such as they are, which I present in abundance, I beg you will accept, for the sincerity with which they are offered. Nothing can be so interesting in the present critical moment, as authentic information

Letters to  
Mr. Sayre.

\* During the summer, Lord MANSFIELD went to Paris. At this time the Court of Great Britain may be said to have had *three* ambassadors at the Court of France—Lord STORMONT, the official; Mr. FORTH, the confidential; and Lord MANSFIELD, the efficient.

B b 4

relating

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relating to America. I therefore esteem it a particular favour, to receive such communications from you in any way most convenient to yourself.

I am,

With great regard and consideration,  
Sir, your most obedient

And most humble servant,

CHATHAM.

*To Mr. Sheriff Sayre,  
Stratford Place, Oxford Road.*

DEAR SIR, *Hayes, August 15, 1774.*

INCLOSED I return to you the letter from your correspondent at New-York, for the perusal of which I beg you will accept a thousand thanks. The bearer is a person of trust, and will convey it safely to your hands\*. What infatuation and cruelty to accelerate the sad moment of war! Every step on the side of Government, in America, seems calculated to drive the Americans into open resistance, vainly hoping to crush the spirit of Liberty in that vast

\* He was denied the privilege of the post. It is well known, that letters to him were indecently opened, and often stopped at the Post Office.

continent,



continent, at one successful blow; but millions must perish there before the seeds of Freedom will cease to grow and spread in so favourable a soil; and in the mean time, devoted England must sink herself, under the ruins of her own foolish and inhuman system of destruction.

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1774.

I wait with extreme impatience for the next accounts; the proclamation for seizing the covenanters, denouncing an immediate issue. Perhaps the streets of Boston have already run with blood. If you receive any interesting intelligence, I shall esteem it a great favour to hear from you by the same method. I am,

With great esteem and consideration,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

CHATHAM.

*To Stephen Sayre, Esq.*

*Stratford Place, Oxford Road.*

*Hayes, August 28, 1774.*

DEAR SIR,

IT is impossible to leave the very kind marks of your remembrance unacknowledged;

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1774.

ledged; and I acquit myself of this pleasing duty, with the real sentiments such flattering attentions must command. The royal venison, which is extremely fine, will have the better flavour by coming through the City to Hayes, and from the friendly hand of Mr. Sheriff SAYRE. Many thanks for the communication of your honest correspondent's letter, returned herewith. It is plain, that Maryland cannot wear chains! Would to Heaven it were equally plain, that the oppressor, England, is not doomed, one day, to bind them round her own hands, and wear them patiently!

---

*Sævior armis*

*Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.*

Happily, beyond the Atlantic, this poison has not reached the heart. When then will infatuated Administration begin to fear that Freedom they cannot destroy, and which they don't know how to love? Delay is fatal, when repentance will come too late. I fear the bond of union between us and America will be cut off for ever. Devoted England will then have seen her best days, which nothing can restore again.

I am

I am sorry to conclude with so gloomy a foreboding, in a case, where the most vulgar understanding may venture to prophecy.

I am, with great esteem and consideration,

My dear Sir,

Your most obedient

And obliged humble servant,

CHATHAM.

*To Stephen Sayre, Esq.*

*Stratford Place, Oxford-street.*

*Hayes, Saturday night, Oct. 8, 1774.*

DEAR SIR,

I AM but just able to hold a pen, after a severe fit of the gout, or the favour of your former kind letter, would not have been so long unacknowledged. That of the 6th instant, which reached me only this evening, adds not a little (both from what it says, and what it does not say) to all the anxious forebodings which filled my mind on that most interesting object of all public concerns, the fate of America. What the late accounts are, I know not; surely not less

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less momentous for being so industriously withheld.

The very kind and friendly share you have taken at the *Standard*\*, can never be forgot; what the events will be, I do not conjecture, because I do not understand the times. If there be a public cause and true friends of liberty, can a genuine son of freedom, and votary of public good, pure from the taint of any faction, suffer a repulse, where every elector has liberty in his mouth? In the present state of Westminster, should Mr. COTES demand a poll, it cannot be to serve the cause, or indeed, himself; for various reasons, however, I do not think it proper to trouble Lord TEMPLE on the occasion. The true friends of Liberty, are able to carry through the work of Liberty if they please. If little manœuvres can defeat great and generous purposes, it is more than time for Virtue to retire. But I will not suppose Lord

\* A tavern in Leicester-square, at which several of the electors of Westminster, at this time, occasionally held meetings.

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MAHON would lose his election in Westminster, even if Mr. COTES should demand a poll. I write with some difficulty; so allow me to bid you adieu without ceremony.

My dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obliged,

CHATHAM.

*To Stephen Sayre, Esq.*

*Stratford Place, Oxford-street.*

*Hayes, Dec. 24, 1774.*

DEAR SIR,

SOON after I had the pleasure of seeing you, I received the extracts from the votes and proceedings of the American Congress, printed and published by order at Philadelphia, and which had been withheld from me, as the letters to others had been. I have not words to express my satisfaction, that the Congress has conducted this most arduous and delicate business, with such manly wisdom and calm resolution, as does the highest honour to their deliberations. Very few are the things contained in their resolves, that I could wish had been otherwise. Upon the whole, I think it must be evident

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evident to every unprejudiced man in England who feels for the rights of mankind, that America, under all her oppressions and provocations, holds forth to us the most fair and just opening, for restoring harmony and affectionate intercourse as heretofore.

I trust that the minds of men are more than beginning to change on this great subject, so little understood; and, that it will be found impossible for freemen in England, to wish to see three millions of Englishmen slaves in America.

I am,

With great esteem, dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

And obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM.

*To Stephen Sayre, Esq.*

*Stratford Place, Oxford-street.*

C H A P.

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C H A P. XLII.

LORD CHATHAM'S MOTION TO WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM BOSTON—HIS BILL FOR QUIETING THE TROUBLES IN AMERICA—HIS BILL REJECTED—RECEIVES THE THANKS OF THE CITY OF LONDON FOR HIS BILL.

ON the 29th day of November, 1774, the new Parliament met. On the 20th day of January, 1775, Lord DARTMOUTH, then Secretary of State, &c. produced the official American papers.

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1775.

The Earl of CHATHAM, after strongly inveighing against the dilatoriness of Administration, &c. proceeded as follows:

Lord Chatham's motion to withdraw the troops from Boston.

—\* But as I have not the honour of  
' access to his Majesty, I will endeavour to  
' transmit to him, through the Constituti-  
' onal channel of this House, my ideas of

\* This speech, and that of the 18th of November, 1777, were taken by the same gentleman; and it has been affirmed by several persons who heard the noble Lord on both days, that they contain very strong and peculiar marks of accuracy.

' America,

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1775.

“ America, to rescue him from the misad-  
 “ vice of his present Ministers. I congratu-  
 “ late your Lordships, that the business is  
 “ *at last* entered upon, by the noble Lord’s  
 “ laying the papers before you. As I sup-  
 “ pose your Lordship’s too well apprized of  
 “ their contents, I hope I am not premature,  
 “ in submitting to you my present motion:

“ That an humble address be presented  
 “ to his Majesty, humbly to desire and be-  
 “ seech his Majesty, that in order to open  
 “ the way towards a happy settlement of  
 “ the dangerous troubles in America, by  
 “ beginning to allay ferments and soften  
 “ animosities there; and above all, for pre-  
 “ venting in the mean time any sudden and  
 “ fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering  
 “ under the daily irritation of an army be-  
 “ fore their eyes, posted in their town; it  
 “ may graciously please his Majesty that  
 “ immediate orders be dispatched to Gene-  
 “ ral GAGE, for removing his Majesty’s  
 “ forces from the town of Boston, as soon  
 “ as the rigour of the season, and other cir-  
 “ cumstances indispensable to the safety and

§ Lord DARTMOUTH.

accommodation



“ accommodation of the said troops, may  
 “ render the same practicable.”

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1775-

‘ I wish, my Lords, not to lose a day in  
 ‘ this urgent, pressing crisis; an hour now  
 ‘ lost in allaying ferments in America, may  
 ‘ produce years of calamity: for my own  
 ‘ part, I will not desert, for a moment, the  
 ‘ conduct of this weighty business, from the  
 ‘ first to the last; unless nailed to my bed  
 ‘ by the extremity of sickness, I will give it  
 ‘ unremitted attention; I will knock at the  
 ‘ door of this sleeping and confounded Mi-  
 ‘ nistry, and will rouse them to a sense of  
 ‘ their important danger.

‘ When I state the importance of the  
 ‘ Colonies to this country, and the magni-  
 ‘ tude of danger hanging over this country,  
 ‘ from the present plan of mis-administra-  
 ‘ tion practised against them, I desire not  
 ‘ to be understood to argue for a recipro-  
 ‘ city of indulgence between England and  
 ‘ America. I contend not for indulgence,  
 ‘ but justice to America; and I shall ever  
 ‘ contend, that the Americans justly owe  
 ‘ obedience to us in a limited degree—they

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owe obedience to our ordinances of trade  
and navigation; but let the line be skill-  
fully drawn between the objects of those  
ordinances, and their private, internal  
property; let the sacredness of their pro-  
perty remain inviolate; let it be taxable  
only by their own consent, given in their  
provincial assemblies, else *it will cease to  
be property*. As to the metaphysical re-  
finements, attempting to shew that the  
Americans are equally free from obedi-  
ence and commercial restraints, as from  
taxation for revenue, as being unrepre-  
sented here; I pronounce them futile, fri-  
volous, and groundless.

When I urge this measure of recalling  
the troops from Boston, I urge it on this  
pressing principle, that it is necessarily pre-  
paratory to the restoration of your peace,  
and the establishment of your prosperity.  
It will then appear that you are disposed  
to treat amicably and equitably; and to  
consider, revise, and repeal, if it should be  
found necessary, as I affirm it will, those  
violent acts and declarations which have  
dissemi-

‘ disseminated confusion throughout your  
‘ empire.

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‘ Resistance to your acts was necessary as  
‘ it was just; and your vain declarations of  
‘ the omnipotence of Parliament, and your  
‘ imperious doctrines of the necessity of  
‘ submission, will be found equally impotent  
‘ to convince, or to enslave your fellow-sub-  
‘ jects in America, who feel that tyranny,  
‘ whether *ambitioned* by an individual part  
‘ of the legislature, or the \* bodies who  
‘ compose it, is equally intolerable to  
‘ British subjects.

‘ The means of enforcing this thralldom  
‘ are found to be as ridiculous and weak in

\* A favourite idea prevailed, and was often urged in argument by Administration, “that absolute passive obedience is due to all acts of the legislature, which must not, in any case whatever, be questioned, much less resisted by the people.” Mr. LOCKE thought otherwise. But, in truth, it is a point rather of *practical* policy. If, however, the postulatam were admitted in *speculation*, the inference will not reach from Westminster to Boston. It never was proved, that our *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal* had *privilege* in America; and that our *Knights Citizens*, and *Burgesses*, were *their* Representatives.

‘ practice, as they are unjust in principle.  
 ‘ Indeed I cannot but feel the most anxious  
 ‘ sensibility for the situation of General  
 ‘ GAGE, and the troops under his com-  
 ‘ mand; thinking him, as I do, a man of  
 ‘ humanity and understanding; and enter-  
 ‘ taining as I ever will, the highest respect,  
 ‘ the warmest love, for the British troops.  
 ‘ Their situation is truly unworthy; penn’d  
 ‘ up—pining in inglorious inactivity. They  
 ‘ are an army of impotence. You may call  
 ‘ them an army of safety and of guard; but  
 ‘ they are in truth an army of impotence  
 ‘ and contempt: and, to make the folly  
 ‘ equal to the disgrace, they are an army of  
 ‘ irritation and vexation.

‘ But I find a report *creeping* abroad, that  
 ‘ Ministers censure General GAGE’s inacti-  
 ‘ vity: let *them* censure him—it becomes  
 ‘ them—it becomes their *justice* and their  
 ‘ *honour*.—I mean not to censure his inacti-  
 ‘ vity; it is a prudent and necessary inac-  
 ‘ tion: but it is a miserable condition, where  
 ‘ disgrace is prudence, and where it is ne-  
 ‘ cessary to be contemptible. This tame-  
 ‘ ness, however contemptible, cannot be  
 ‘ censured;



‘ censured; for the first drop of blood shed  
 ‘ in civil and unnatural war might be *imme-*  
 ‘ *dicabile vulnus*.

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Lord Cha-  
 atham's  
 speech  
 against  
 quartering  
 troops in  
 America.

‘ I therefore urge and conjure your Lord-  
 ‘ ships, immediately to adopt this conciliat-  
 ‘ ing measure. I will pledge myself for its  
 ‘ immediately producing conciliatory effects,  
 ‘ by its being thus well-timed: but if you  
 ‘ delay till your vain hope shall be accom-  
 ‘ plished, of triumphantly dictating recon-  
 ‘ ciliation, you delay for ever. But, admit-  
 ‘ ting that this hope, which in truth is des-  
 ‘ perate, should be accomplished, what do  
 ‘ you gain by the imposition of your victo-  
 ‘ rious amity?—you will be untrusted and  
 ‘ unthanked. Adopt, then, the grace, while  
 ‘ you have the opportunity of reconcile-  
 ‘ ment; or at least prepare the way.—Allay  
 ‘ the ferment prevailing in America, by re-  
 ‘ moving the obnoxious, hostile cause—ob-  
 ‘ noxious and unserviceable; for their merit  
 ‘ can be only in inaction: “*Non dimicare*  
 ‘ *et vincere*,”—their victory can never be by  
 ‘ exertions. Their force would be most  
 ‘ disproportionately exerted against a brave,  
 ‘ generous, and united people, with arms

' in their hands, and courage in their hearts;  
 ' —three millions of people, the genuine  
 ' descendants of a valiant and pious ances-  
 ' try, driven to those deserts by the narrow  
 ' maxims of a superstitious tyranny.—And  
 ' is the spirit of persecution never to be ap-  
 ' peased? Are the brave sons of those brave  
 ' forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as  
 ' they have inherited their virtues? Are  
 ' they to sustain the infliction of the most  
 ' oppressive and unexampled severity, be-  
 ' yond the accounts of history, or descrip-  
 ' tion of poetry: "*Rhadamanthus habet du-*  
 ' "*rissima regna, castigat que, AUDIT QUE.*"  
 ' So says the wisest poet, and perhaps the  
 ' wisest statesman and politician.---But our  
 ' Ministers say, *the Americans must not be*  
 ' *heard.* They have been condemned *un-*  
 ' *heard.*---The indiscriminate hand of ven-  
 ' geance has lumped together innocent and  
 ' guilty; with all the formalities of hosti-  
 ' lity, has blocked up the town \* and reduc-  
 ' ed to beggary and famine thirty thousand  
 ' inhabitants.

\* Boston,

• But

' But his Majesty is advised, that the  
 ' union in America cannot last. Ministers  
 ' have more eyes than I, and should have  
 ' more ears; but with all the information I  
 ' have been able to procure, I can pro-  
 ' nounce it—an union, solid, permanent,  
 ' and effectual. Ministers may satisfy them-  
 ' selves, and delude the public, with the re-  
 ' port of what they call commercial bodies  
 ' in America. They are *not* commercial;  
 ' they are your packers and factors: they  
 ' live upon nothing—for I call commission  
 ' nothing. I mean the ministerial *authority*  
 ' for this American intelligence; the run-  
 ' ners for government, who are paid for  
 ' their intelligence. But these are not the  
 ' men, nor this the influence, to be confi-  
 ' dered in America, when we estimate the  
 ' firmness of their union. Even to extend  
 ' the question, and to take in the really mer-  
 ' cantile circle, will be totally inadequate to  
 ' the consideration. Trade indeed increases  
 ' the wealth and glory of a country; but  
 ' its real strength and stamina are to be  
 ' looked for among the cultivators of the  
 ' land: in their simplicity of life is found  
 ' the simpleness of virtue—the integrity



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‘ and courage of freedom. These true  
 ‘ genuine sons of the earth are invincible:  
 ‘ and they surround and hem in the mer-  
 ‘ cantile bodies; even if these bodies, which  
 ‘ supposition I totally disclaim, could be  
 ‘ supposed disaffected to the cause of liberty.  
 ‘ Of this general spirit existing in the Bri-  
 ‘ tish *nation*; (for so I wish to distinguish  
 ‘ the real and genuine Americans from the  
 ‘ pseudo-traders I have described)—of this  
 ‘ spirit of independence\*; animating, the  
 ‘ *nation* of America, I have the most authen-  
 ‘ tic information. It is not new among  
 ‘ them; it is, and has ever been, their estab-  
 ‘ lished principle, their confirmed persua-  
 ‘ sion; it is their nature, and their doctrine.

\* (*i. e.*) of *legal liberty*;—the *independence* of freemen, contra-distinguished to the *dependent* state of slaves. It was thought necessary to specify this idea, lest Lord CHATHAM should have been misconceived to have imputed to America an original *wish of disconnexion* from this country. On the contrary, when that fatal event did occur, his Lordship attributed it to a very different cause from the *inclination* of America.—“That state of independency into which *your measures hitherto* have driven her.”—See his Lordship’s Speech, on the 18th of Nov. 1777.

‘ I remem-



‘ I remember some years ago, when the  
 ‘ repeal of the stamp act was in agitation,  
 ‘ conversing in a friendly confidence with a  
 ‘ person of undoubted respect and authen-  
 ‘ ticity, on that subject; and he assured me,  
 ‘ with a certainty which his judgment and  
 ‘ opportunity gave him, that these were the  
 ‘ prevalent and steady principles of Ame-  
 ‘ rica—That you might destroy their towns,  
 ‘ and cut them off from the superfluities,  
 ‘ perhaps the conveniencies of life; but that  
 ‘ they were prepared to despise your power,  
 ‘ and would not lament their loss, whilst  
 ‘ they have—what, my Lords?---their *woods*  
 ‘ and their *liberty*. The name of my autho-  
 ‘ rity, if I am called upon, will authenticate  
 ‘ the opinion irrefragably\*.

‘ If illegal violences have been, as it is  
 ‘ said, committed in America; prepare the  
 ‘ way, open the door of possibility, for ac-  
 ‘ knowledgment and satisfaction: but pro-  
 ‘ ceed not to such coercion, such proscrip-  
 ‘ tion; cease your indiscriminate inflictions;  
 ‘ amerce not thirty thousand; oppress not

\* It was Dr. FRANKLIN.

‘ three millions, for the fault of forty or  
 ‘ fifty. Such severity of injustice must for  
 ‘ ever render incurable the wounds you  
 ‘ have already given your colonies: you  
 ‘ irritate them to unappeasable rancour.  
 ‘ What though you march from town to  
 ‘ town, and from province to province;  
 ‘ though you should be able to enforce a  
 ‘ temporary and local submission, which I  
 ‘ only suppose, not admit---how shall you  
 ‘ be able to secure the obedience of the  
 ‘ country you leave behind you in your  
 ‘ progress, to grasp the dominion of eighteen  
 ‘ hundred miles of continent, populous in  
 ‘ numbers, possessing valour, liberty, and  
 ‘ resistance?

‘ This resistance to your arbitrary system  
 ‘ of taxation might have been foreseen; it  
 ‘ was obvious from the nature of things,  
 ‘ and of mankind; and above all, from the  
 ‘ Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country.  
 ‘ The spirit which now resists your taxation  
 ‘ in America, is the \* same which formerly  
 ‘ opposed

\* Not so, according to the political logic of Administration; which would prove the *Toryism* of “this American

\* opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-  
 \* money, in England: the same spirit which  
 \* called all England *on its legs*, and by the  
 \* Bill of Rights vindicated the English con-  
 \* stitution: the same spirit which established  
 \* the great, fundamental, essential maxim of  
 \* your liberties, *that no subject of England*  
 \* *shall be taxed but by his own consent.*

‘ This glorious spirit of Whiggism ani-  
 \* mates three millions in America; who pre-  
 \* fer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains  
 \* and sordid affluence; and who will die in  
 \* defence of their rights as men, as freemen.  
 \* What shall oppose this spirit, aided by  
 \* the congenial flame glowing in the breasts  
 \* of every Whig in England, to the amount,  
 \* I hope, of double the American numbers?  
 \* Ireland they have to a man. In that  
 \* country, joined as it is with the cause of

American spirit.” In the debate for an address, on the first day of the session, Oct. 26, 1775, Mr. Fox urged, with his usual ability, what he conceived to be Whig principles; principles consulting the good of the *governed*, rather than the *governors*; principles jealously securing the *rights of the people* against every encroachment of power: and these, he thought, had some relation to the cause and conduct of America,

‘ the



‘ the Colonies, and placed at their head,  
 ‘ the distinction I contend for is and must  
 ‘ be observed. This country superintends  
 ‘ and controuls their trade and navigation;  
 ‘ but they *tax themselves*. And this distinc-  
 ‘ tion between external and internal con-  
 ‘ troul is sacred and insurmountable; it is  
 ‘ involved in the abstract nature of things.  
 ‘ Property is private, individual, absolute.  
 ‘ Trade is an extended and complicated  
 ‘ consideration: it reaches as far as ships  
 ‘ can sail or winds can blow: it is a great  
 ‘ and various machine. To regulate the  
 ‘ numberless movements of its several parts,  
 ‘ and combine them into effect, for the good  
 ‘ of the whole, requires the superintending  
 ‘ wisdom and energy of the supreme power  
 ‘ in the empire. But this supreme power  
 ‘ has no effect towards internal taxation;  
 ‘ for it does not exist in that relation: there  
 ‘ is no such thing, *no such idea in this con-*  
 ‘ *stitution, as a supreme power operating*  
 ‘ *upon property*. Let this distinction then  
 ‘ remain for ever ascertained; taxation is  
 ‘ theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As  
 ‘ an American I would recognize to Eng-  
 ‘ land her supreme right of regulating com-  
 ‘ merce



‘ merce and navigation: as an Englishman  
‘ by birth and principle, I recognize to the  
‘ Americans their supreme unalienable right  
‘ in their property; a right which they are  
‘ justified in the defence of to the last extre-  
‘ mity. To maintain this principle, is the  
‘ common cause of the Whigs on the other  
‘ side of the Atlantic, and on on this.  
“ ’Tis liberty to liberty engaged,” that they  
‘ will defend themselves, their families, and  
‘ their country. In this great cause they  
‘ are immoveably allied: it is the alliance  
‘ of God and nature—immutable, eternal—  
‘ fixed as the firmament of heaven.

‘ To such united force, what force shall  
‘ be opposed?—What, my Lords?—A few  
‘ regiments in America, and seventeen or  
‘ eighteen thousand men at home!—The  
‘ idea is too ridiculous to take up a mo-  
‘ ment of your Lordship’s time. Nor can  
‘ such a national and principled union be  
‘ resisted by the tricks of office, or Ministe-  
‘ rial manœuvre. Laying of papers on your  
‘ table, or counting numbers on a division,  
‘ will not avert or postpone the hour of  
‘ danger: it must arrive, my Lords, unless  
‘ these

‘ these fatal acts are done away; it must  
 ‘ arrive in all its horrors, and then these  
 ‘ boastful Ministers, spite of all their confi-  
 ‘ dence, and all their manœuvres, shall be  
 ‘ forced to hide their heads. They shall be  
 ‘ forced to a disgraceful abandonment of  
 ‘ their present measures and principles,  
 ‘ which they avow, but cannot defend;  
 ‘ measures which they presume to attempt,  
 ‘ but cannot hope to effectuate. They can-  
 ‘ not my Lords, they cannot stir a step; they  
 ‘ have not a *move*\* left; they are *check-mated*.

‘ But it is not repealing this act of Parli-

\* An allusion to the game of Chess.—The *King* is the object of the game; and therefore the most valuable, though not the most powerful, piece on the board. *Check-mate* is that situation where he is so weakly supported by his pieces, or so entangled by their injudicious disposition, that he cannot escape. This danger is often incurred by exposing himself too much, and taking too active a part in the game. Vide Philidor.—It is certainly a noble and royal pastime. CHARLES I. was actually playing at it in the Scots camp, when intelligence was brought to him of their final resolution to betray him. In due praise of the royal steadiness, the historian observes, that “he continued his game without interruption.” See Hume’s *Hist. of England*:—or, as Lord CHATHAM once called it, “his *apology* for the House of STUART.”

‘ ament,

ament, it is not repealing a *piece of parchment*, that can restore America to our bosom: you must repeal her fears and her resentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force, posted at Boston; irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you *could* force them, would be suspicious and insecure; they will be *irato animo*; they will not be the sound honourable passions of freemen; they will be the dictates of fear, and extortions of force. But it is more than evident, that you cannot force them, unprincipled and united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission—it is impossible: And when I hear General GAGE censured for inactivity, I must retort with indignation on those, whose intemperate measures and improvident councils have betrayed him into his present situation. His situation reminds me, my Lords, of the answer of a French General in the civil wars of France—Monsieur CONDE opposed to Monsieur TURENNE: he was asked, how it happened that he did not take his adversary prisoner, as he was often

very



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‘ very near him: “ J’ai peur,” replied  
 ‘ CONDE, very honestly, “ J’ai peur qu’il  
 ‘ ne me prenne ;”—*I’m afraid he’ll take me.*

‘ When your Lordships look at the pa-  
 ‘ pers transmitted us from America ; when  
 ‘ you consider their decency, firmness, and  
 ‘ wisdom, you cannot but respect their  
 ‘ cause, and wish to make it your own.  
 ‘ For myself, I must declare and avow,  
 ‘ that in all my reading and observation—  
 ‘ and it has been my favourite study—I  
 ‘ have read Thucydides, and have studied  
 ‘ and admired the master-states of the  
 ‘ world—that for solidity of reasoning,  
 ‘ force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclu-  
 ‘ sion, under such a complication of dif-  
 ‘ ficult circumstances, no nation, or body  
 ‘ of men, can stand in preference to the  
 ‘ general Congress at Philadelphia. I trust  
 ‘ it is obvious to your Lordships, that all  
 ‘ attempts to impose servitude upon such  
 ‘ men, to establish despotism over such  
 ‘ a mighty continental *nation*, must be  
 ‘ vain, must be fatal. We shall be *forced*  
 ‘ *ultimately to retract* ; let us retract while  
 ‘ we can, not when we must. I say we  
 ‘ must

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' must necessarily undo these violent op-  
 ' pressive acts\*: *they must be repealed;---*  
 ' *you will repeal them; I pledge myself for*  
 ' *it, that you will in the end repeal them; I*  
 ' *stake my reputation on it:---I will consent*  
 ' *to be taken for an idiot, if they are not*  
 ' *finally repealed.*---Avoid, then, this humili-  
 ' liating, disgraceful necessity. With a  
 ' dignity becoming your exalted situation,  
 ' make the first advances to concord, to  
 ' peace, and happiness: for *that* is your  
 ' true dignity, to act with prudence and  
 ' justice. That *you* should first concede,  
 ' is obvious, from sound and rational po-  
 ' licy. Concession comes with better grace  
 ' and more salutary effect from superior  
 ' power; it reconciles superiority of power  
 ' with the feelings of men; and establishes  
 ' solid confidence on the foundations of af-  
 ' fection and gratitude.

\* Acts of Parliament passed in the preceding session,  
 for shutting up the port of Boston, altering the charter  
 of Massachusetts Bay, &c. The noble speaker's pre-  
 diction was strictly verified; the repeal of these acts was  
*at last*, after three years fruitless war, sent out as a peace-  
 offering to the Congress of America; by whom it was  
 treated with contempt.

‘ So thought a wise poet and a wise man  
 ‘ in political sagacity; the friend of Me-  
 ‘ cænas, and the eulogist of Augustus.—  
 ‘ To him, the adopted son and successor,  
 ‘ the first Cæsar, to him, the master of the  
 ‘ world, he wisely urged this conduct of  
 ‘ prudence and dignity; “*Tuque prior, tu*  
 ‘ *parce; projice tela manu.*”

‘ Every motive, therefore, of justice and  
 ‘ of policy, of dignity and of prudence,  
 ‘ urges you to allay the ferment in Ame-  
 ‘ rica—by a removal of your troops from  
 ‘ Boston—by a repeal of your acts of Par-  
 ‘ liament—and by demonstration of amica-  
 ‘ ble dispositions towards your Colonies.  
 ‘ On the other hand, every danger and every  
 ‘ hazard impend, to deter you from perse-  
 ‘ verance in your present ruinous measures.  
 ‘ —Foreign war hanging over your heads  
 ‘ by a slight and brittle thread: France  
 ‘ and Spain watching your conduct, and  
 ‘ waiting for the maturity of your errors;  
 ‘ —with a vigilant eye to America, and  
 ‘ the temper of your Colonies, more than  
 ‘ to their own concerns, be they what they  
 ‘ may.

‘ To

‘ To conclude, my Lords: If the Ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say, that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, that *they will make the crown not worth his wearing*:—I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce, that *the kingdom is undone*.’

Here it will not be improper to offer a few explanatory observations, particularly on the preceding speech.

The reader will recollect, that the motion which accompanied the preceding speech, for removing his Majesty’s troops from Boston, was urged by the noble Speaker expressly on the ground of *peaceably* accommodating the dispute with America. He will remember that the only ground of dispute then, was *the taxation of that country claimed by this*; the attempted exercise of which, had produced a riot at Boston. The *Independence* of America was not then in contemplation: unless in the reveries of

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a reverend writer\* on the subject, who maintained a proposition, memorable only for its *singularity*, "that the independence of America would be a beneficial event to England."—To the Americans it never occurred, unless for the refutation of some injurious suspicions, by the most solemn, absolute, and express disavowal.

The noble Lord's motion was, however, rejected: and hostilities commenced at Lexington, on the 19th of the following April.

It is unnecessary to particularize the subsequent events. They are too well known, and have been too severely felt, by every friend of his country\*. "*Years of Calamity*" fatally fulfil the prophecy of Lord CHATHAM. The British Empire has sustained the "*immedicabile vulnus*" which his wisdom would have averted.—How he would have corrected the disorder at its

\* DR. TUCKER.

\* The infinite number of taxes laid upon the people of Great Britain, from the year 1775 to the year 1785, may be justly imputed to the American war.

*crisis,*



*crisis*, before it attained its desperate malignity, will be seen in his Lordship's speech, on the eighteenth of November, 1777. His Majesty's speech on that day expressed the "*Confidence*" and "*Hopes*" of his Ministers; and they may fairly stand in contrast with the opinions of Lord CHATHAM. Let history form the comment.

On the first day of February 1775, Lord CHATHAM offered to the House of Lords a bill for quieting the troubles in America, which he introduced with saying, 'that he offered it as a *basis* for averting the dangers which now threatened the British empire; and he hoped, he said, that it would meet with the approbation of every side of the House. He proceeded to state the urgent necessity of such a plan: as, perhaps, the delay of a few hours might for ever defeat the possibility of any such conciliatory intervention. He represented Great Britain and America as drawn up in martial array, waiting for the signal to engage in a contest,

His bill for  
quieting  
the troubles in  
America.

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' in which it was little matter for whom  
 ' victory declared, as ruin and destruction  
 ' must be the inevitable consequence to  
 ' both parties. He wished, he said, from  
 ' a principle of duty and affection, to act  
 ' the part of a mediator. He said, how-  
 ' ever, that no regard for popularity, no  
 ' predilection for his country, not the high  
 ' esteem he entertained for America on the  
 ' one hand, nor the unalterable steady re-  
 ' gard he entertained for the dignity of  
 ' Great-Britain on the other, should at all  
 ' influence his conduct; for though he  
 ' loved the Americans, as men prizing and  
 ' setting the just value on that inestimable  
 ' blessing, Liberty; yet if he could once  
 ' bring himself to be persuaded, that they  
 ' entertained the most distant intentions of  
 ' throwing off the legislative supremacy and  
 ' great constitutional superintending power  
 ' and controul of the British legislature, he  
 ' should be the very person himself, who would  
 ' be the first and most zealous mover for  
 ' securing and enforcing that power by  
 ' every possible exertion this country was  
 ' capable of making. He recurred to his  
 ' former arguments, on the great constitu-  
 ' tional

' tional question of taxation and represen-  
 ' tation; insisted they were inseparable,  
 ' and planted so deeply in the vital princi-  
 ' ples of the constitution, as never to be  
 ' torn up, without destroying and pulling  
 ' asunder every band of legal government  
 ' and good faith, which formed the cement  
 ' that united its several constituent parts to-  
 ' gether. He intreated the assistance of  
 ' the House to digest the crude materials  
 ' which he presumed to lay before it, and  
 ' to reduce his bill to that form, which  
 ' was suited to the dignity and the impor-  
 ' tance of that subject, and to the great  
 ' ends to which it was ultimately directed.  
 ' He called on them to exercise their can-  
 ' dour on the present occasion, and depre-  
 ' cated the effects of party, or prejudice;  
 ' of factious spleen, or blind predilection.  
 ' He avowed himself to be actuated by no  
 ' narrow principle, or personal considerati-  
 ' on whatever; for though the present bill  
 ' might be looked upon as a bill of conces-  
 ' sion, it was impossible but to confess at  
 ' the same time that it was a bill of as-  
 ' sertion.'

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The following is an authentic copy of the proposed bill.

“ A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the Colonies.

“ Whereas, by an act 6 Geo. III. it is declared, that Parliament has full power and authority to make laws and statutes to bind the people of the Colonies, in all cases whatsoever; and whereas reiterated complaints and most dangerous disorders have grown, touching the right of taxation claimed and exercised over America, to the disturbance of peace and good order there, and to the actual interruption of the due intercourse from Great Britain and Ireland to the Colonies, deeply affecting the navigation, trade, and manufactures of this kingdom and of Ireland, and announcing farther an interruption of all exports from the said Colonies to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands in America: Now, for prevention of these  
ruinous



ruinous mischiefs, and in order to an equitable, honourable, and lasting settlement of claims not sufficiently ascertained and circumscribed, May it please your most Excellent Majesty, that it may be declared, and be it declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the Colonies of America have been, are, and of right ought to be, dependent upon the Imperial Crown of Great-Britain, and subordinate unto the British Parliament, and that the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the British Colonies in America, in all matters touching the general weal of the whole dominion of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, and beyond the competency of the local representative of a distinct colony; and most especially

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pecially an indubitable and indispenfible right to make and ordain laws for regulating navigation and trade throughout the complicated fyftem of British commerce; the deep policy of fuch prudent acts upholding the guardian navy of the whole British empire; and that all fubjects in the Colonies are bound in duty and allegiance duly to recognize and obey (and they are hereby required fo to do) the fupreme legiflative authority and fuperintending power of the Parliament of Great Britain, as aforefaid. And whereas, in a petition from America to his Majefty, it has been represented, that the keeping a ftanding army within any of the Colonies, in time of peace, without confent of the refpective Provincial Affembly there, is againft law: Be it declared by the King's moft Excellent Majefty, by and with the confent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this prefent Parliament affembled, that the Declaration of Right, at the ever-glorious Revolution, namely, " That the raifing and keeping a ftanding army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unlefs it be by the confent of Parliament,

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liament, is against law," having reference only to the consent of the Parliament of Great Britain, the legal, constitutional, and hitherto unquestioned prerogative of the Crown, to send any part of such army, so lawfully kept, to any of the British dominions and possessions, whether in America or elsewhere, as his Majesty, in the due care of his subjects, may judge necessary for the security and protection of the same, cannot be rendered dependent upon the consent of a Provincial Assembly in the Colonies, without a most dangerous innovation, and derogation from the dignity of the Imperial Crown of Great-Britain. Nevertheless, in order to quiet and dispel groundless jealousies and fears, be it hereby declared, That no military force, however raised, and kept according to law, can ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people. Moreover, in order to remove for ever all causes of pernicious discord, and in due contemplation of the vast increase of possessions and population in the Colonies; and having a heart to render the condition of so great a body of industrious subjects

there

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there more and more happy, by the sacredness of property and of personal liberty, of more extensive and lasting utility to the parent kingdom, by indissoluble ties of mutual affection, confidence, trade, and reciprocal benefits, Be it declared and enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and it is hereby declared and enacted by the authority of the same, That no tallage, tax, or other charge for his Majesty's revenue, shall be commanded or levied, from British freemen in America, without common consent, by act of Provincial Assembly there, duly convened for that purpose. And it hereby further declared and enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall and may be lawful for delegates from the respective provinces, lately assembled at Philadelphia, to meet in general Congress at the said city of Philadelphia, on the



the 9th day of May next ensuing, in order then and there to take into consideration the making due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Parliament over the Colonies, as aforesaid. And moreover, may it please your most Excellent Majesty, that the said Delegates, to be in Congress assembled in manner aforesaid, may be required, and the same are hereby required, by the King's Majesty sitting in his Parliament, to take into consideration (over and above the usual charge for support of civil government in the respective Colonies) the making a free grant to the King, his heirs, and successors, of a certain perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of the British Parliament, to be by them appropriated as they in their wisdom shall judge fit, to the alleviation of the national debt: no doubt being had but this just, free aid, will be in such honourable proportion as may seem meet and becoming from great and flourishing colonies towards a parent country labouring under the heaviest burdens, which, in no inconsiderable part, have been willingly taken upon ourselves and posterity,

for

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for the defence, extension, and prosperity of the Colonies. And to this great end, be it farther hereby declared and enacted, that the general Congress (to meet at Philadelphia as aforesaid) shall be, and is hereby authorized and empowered (the Delegates composing the same being first sufficiently furnished with powers from their respective provinces for this purpose) to adjust and fix the proportions and quotas of the several charges to be borne by each province respectively, towards the general contributory supply; and this in such fair and equitable measure, as may best suit the abilities and due convenience of all: Provided always, that the powers for fixing the said quotas, hereby given to the delegates from the old provinces composing the Congress, shall not extend to the new provinces of East and West Florida, Georgia, Nova Scotia, St. John's, and Canada; the circumstances and abilities of the said provinces being reserved for the wisdom of Parliament in their due time. And in order to afford necessary time for mature deliberation in America, be it hereby declared, That the provisions for ascertaining and

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and fixing the exercise of the right of taxation in the Colonies, as agreed and expressed by this present act, shall not be in force, or have any operation, until the delegates to be in Congress assembled, sufficiently authorised and empowered by their respective provinces to this end, shall, as an indispensable condition, have duly recognised the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of the Parliament of Great Britain over the Colonies aforesaid: Always understood, That the free grant of an aid, as heretofore required and expected from the Colonies, is not to be considered as a condition of redress, but as a just testimony of their affection. And whereas divers acts of Parliament have been humbly represented, in a petition to his Majesty from America, to have been found grievous, in whole or in part, to the subjects of the Colonies, be it hereby declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the powers of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty

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Admiralty Courts in America shall be restrained within their ancient limits, and the Trial by Jury, in all civil cases, where the same may be abolished, restored: And that no subject in America shall, in capital cases, be liable to be indicted and tried for the same, in any place out of the province wherein such offence shall be alledged to have been committed, nor be deprived of a trial by his peers of the vicinage; nor shall it be lawful to send persons, indicted for murder in any province of America, to another colony, or to Great Britain, for trial. And be it hereby declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the said acts, or so much thereof as are represented to have been found grievous, namely; the several acts of the 4th Geo. III. ch. 15. and ch. 34.—5th Geo. III. ch. 25.—6th Geo. III. ch. 52.—7th Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46.—8th Geo. III. ch. 22.—12th Geo. III. ch. 24.—with the three acts for stopping the port, and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that entitled, An act for the better administration of justice, &c.;

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also the act for regulating the government of Quebec, and the act passed in the same session relating to the quarters of soldiers, shall be, and are hereby suspended, and not to have effect or execution, from the date of this act. And be it moreover hereby declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the before-recited acts, or the parts thereof complained of, shall be and are, in virtue of this present act, finally repealed and annulled, from the day that the new recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Parliament over the Colonies, shall have been made on the part of the said Colonies.

And for the better securing due and impartial administration of justice in the Colonies, be it declared and enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, That his Majesty's Judges in Courts of Law in the Colonies of America, to be appointed with

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1775.

salaries by the Crown, shall hold their offices and salaries as his Majesty's Judges in England, *quamdiu se benegesserint*. And it is hereby further declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the Colonies in America are justly entitled to the privileges, franchises, and immunities granted by their several Charters or Constitutions; and that the said Charters or Constitutions ought not to be invaded or resumed, unless for misuser, or some legal ground of forfeiture. So shall true reconciliation avert impending calamities, and this solemn national accord between Great Britain and her Colonies stand an everlasting monument of clemency and magnanimity in the benignant father of his people, of wisdom and moderation in this great nation, famed for humanity as for valour, and of fidelity and grateful affection from brave and loyal Colonies to their parent kingdom, which will ever protect and cherish them."

Lord SANDWICH moved to reject the Bill. Lord GOWER reprobated the Bill with extraordinary asperity. The Duke  
of

of GRAFTON said the Bill was unparliamentary.

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XLII.

1775.

Lord CHATHAM replied to several objections which fell from the members of Administration: he descanted with equal humour and severity upon the very extraordinary logic employed by the noble Duke, his *quondam* colleague in office, and very humble servant. The noble Duke, says his Lordship, is extremely angry with me, that I did not previously consult him on the bringing in the present bill: I would ask the noble Duke, does he consult me? or do I desire to be previously told of any motions or measures he thinks fit to propose to this House? His Grace seems to be much offended at the manner this bill has been hurried. I am certain he could not be serious, if he gave himself a minute to consider how the case really stands. Here we are told, that America is in a state of actual rebellion, and we are now got to the 1st of February, and no one step is taken to crush this supposed rebellion:

E e 2

yet,

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yet, such being the case, I am charged  
 with hurrying matters; but whether my  
 conduct may be more justly charged with  
 hurrying this business into, or his Grace  
 with hurrying it out of the House, I be-  
 lieve requires no great depth of penetra-  
 tion to discover. As to the other general  
 objections, I presume it will be recollec-  
 ted, that the last day I submitted the pro-  
 position about withdrawing the troops, I  
 then gave notice that I would present, in  
 a few days, a plan of general reconcili-  
 ation. Eleven days have since elapsed,  
 and nothing has been offered by the  
 King's servants. Under such circum-  
 stances of emergency on one side, when,  
 perhaps, a single day may determine the  
 fate of this great empire; and such a  
 shameful negligence, total inattention,  
 and want of ability on the other, what  
 was to be done? No other alternative, in  
 my opinion remained, but either to aban-  
 don the interests of my country, and re-  
 linquish my duty, or to propose some  
 plan, when Ministry, by their inaction  
 and silence, owned themselves incapable  
 of



' of proposing any. But even now let  
 ' them speak out, and tell me, that they  
 ' have a plan to lay before us, and I will  
 ' give them an example of candour they  
 ' are by no means deserving of, by instantly  
 ' withdrawing the present Bill. The inde-  
 ' cent attempt to stifle this measure in embrio,  
 ' may promise consequences the very re-  
 ' verse of what I am certain will be the  
 ' case. The friends of the present motion  
 ' may flatter themselves, that the contents  
 ' of the Bill will sink into silence and be  
 ' forgotten, but I believe they will find the  
 ' contrary. This Bill, though rejected here,  
 ' will make its way to the public, to the na-  
 ' tion, to the remotest wilds of America;  
 ' it will, in such a course undergo a deal of  
 ' cool observation and investigation; and  
 ' whatever its merits or demerits may be,  
 ' it will rise or fall by them alone; it will,  
 ' I trust, remain a monument of my poor  
 ' endeavours to serve my country; and  
 ' however faulty or defective, will at least  
 ' manifest how zealous I have been to avert  
 ' the impending storms which seem ready  
 ' to burst on it, and for ever overwhelm it

C H A P.  
XLII.

1775.

‘ in ruin. Yet, when I consider the whole  
 ‘ case as it lies before me, I am not much  
 ‘ astonished, I am not surprised, that men  
 ‘ who hate liberty, should detest those that  
 ‘ prize it ; or that those who want virtue  
 ‘ themselves, should endeavour to prose-  
 ‘ cute those who possess it. Were I dis-  
 ‘ posed to pursue this theme to the extent  
 ‘ that truth would fully bear me out in, I  
 ‘ could demonstrate, that the whole of your  
 ‘ political conduct, has been one continued  
 ‘ series of weakness, temerity, despotism,  
 ‘ ignorance, futility, negligence, and the  
 ‘ most notorious servility, incapacity, and  
 ‘ corruption. On reconsideration, I must  
 ‘ allow you one merit, a strict attention to  
 ‘ your own interests : in that view you ap-  
 ‘ pear sound statesmen, and able politicians.  
 ‘ You well know, if the present measure  
 ‘ should prevail, that you must instantly re-  
 ‘ linquish your places. I doubt much whe-  
 ‘ ther you will be able to keep them on  
 ‘ any terms : but sure I am, that such is  
 ‘ your well-known characters and abilities,  
 ‘ any plan of reconciliation, however mo-  
 ‘ derate, wise, and feasible, must fail in  
 ‘ your

‘ your hands. Such then being your pre-  
 ‘ carious situations, who should wonder  
 ‘ that you can put a negative on any mea-  
 ‘ sure which must annihilate your power,  
 ‘ deprive you of your emoluments, and at  
 ‘ once reduce you to that state of insigni-  
 ‘ ficance, for which God and Nature de-  
 ‘ signed you?’

The Bill was rejected, and not suffered  
 to lie upon the table.

Although the Bill met with a fate so  
 unjust in Parliament, it was very different-  
 ly received by the Public. On the tenth  
 day of February, the Corporation of the  
 City of London came to the following re-  
 solution.

“ That the thanks of this Court be given  
 to the Right Hon. the Earl of CHATHAM,  
 for having offered to the House of Lords  
 a plan for conciliating the differences  
 which unfortunately subsist between the  
 Administration in this country and its A-  
 merican Colonies; and to all those who

supported that noble Lord in so humane a measure."

The Town Clerk having waited on Lord CHATHAM with the above resolution, his Lordship returned the following answer:

" Lord CHATHAM desires the favour of Mr. Town Clerk to offer my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled, his most respectful and grateful acknowledgments for the signal honour they have been pleased to confer on the mere discharge of his duty, in a moment of impending calamity.

" Under deep impressions of former marks of favourable construction of his conduct, during the evil hour of a dangerous foreign war, he now deems himself too fortunate to find his efforts for preventing the ruin and horrors of a civil war, approved, honoured, and strengthened by the first Corporate body in the kingdom."

During



During the remainder of the session, which ended on the 26th of May, 1775, Lord CHATHAM did not attend; nor during the succeeding session, which began on the 26th of Oct. 1775, and ended on the 23d of May, 1776. His health declined so fast, he was not able.

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XLII.  
1775.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XLIII.

DUKE OF GRAFTON RESIGNS—LORD CHATHAM'S MOTION AND SPEECHES TO DISCONTINUE THE AMERICAN WAR; AND REPEAL ALL THE ACTS OF PARLIAMENT PASSED SINCE THE YEAR 1763.

CHAP.  
XLIII.

1775.  
Duke  
of Grafton  
resigns.

AT the meeting of Parliament towards the end of October, 1775, the Duke of GRAFTON being convinced of the hostile measures of the Cabinet against America, declared that his conscience forbade him supporting those measures in Parliament, and, therefore, he resigned the Privy Seal; which was thereupon given to Lord DARTMOUTH, and Lord GEORGE GERMAIN succeeded his Lordship as Secretary of State for America.

On the thirteenth day of May, 1777, Lord CHATHAM attended the House of Lords, again, to make another motion, deprecating hostilities with America. He began—

My

' My Lords, this is a flying moment ; per-  
 ' haps but six weeks left to arrest the dan-  
 ' gers that surround us. The gathering  
 ' storm may break ; it has already opened,  
 ' and in part burst. It is difficult for Go-  
 ' vernment, after all that has passed, to  
 ' shake hands with defiers of the King, de-  
 ' fiers of the Parliament, defiers of the Peo-  
 ' ple. I am a defier of nobody ; but if an  
 ' end is not put to this war, there is an end  
 ' to this country. I do not trust my judge-  
 ' ment in my present state of health ; this is  
 ' the judgement of my better days ; the re-  
 ' sult of forty years attention to America.  
 ' They are rebels ; but what are they rebels  
 ' for ? Surely not for defending their un-  
 ' questionable rights ! What have these re-  
 ' bels done heretofore ? I remember when  
 ' they raised four regiments on their own  
 ' bottom, and took Louisbourg from the  
 ' veteran troops of France. But their ex-  
 ' cesses have been great. I do not mean  
 ' their panegyric ; but must observe in at-  
 ' tenuation, the erroneous and infatuated  
 ' counsels, which have prevailed—the door  
 ' to mercy and justice has been shut against  
 ' them.

CHAP.  
XLIII.

1777.

Lord  
Chatham's  
motion to  
discon-  
tinue the  
American  
War.

CHAP.  
XLIII.

1777.

' them. But they may still be taken up  
 ' upon the Grounds of their former sub-  
 ' mission. [*Referring to their petition.*] I state  
 ' to you the importance of America; it is  
 ' a double-market; the market of consump-  
 ' tion, and the market of supply. This  
 ' double-market for millions, with naval  
 ' stores, you are giving to your hereditary  
 ' rival. America has carried you through  
 ' four wars, and will now carry you to your  
 ' death, if you don't take things in time.  
 ' In the sportsman's phrase, when you have  
 ' found yourselves at fault, you must try  
 ' back. You have ransacked every corner  
 ' of Lower Saxony; but 40,000 German  
 ' boors never can conquer ten times the  
 ' number of British freemen: they may  
 ' ravage; they cannot conquer. But you  
 ' would conquer, you say! Why, what  
 ' would you conquer—the map of America?  
 ' I am ready to meet any General Officer  
 ' on the subject. [Looking at Lord  
 ' AMHERST.] What will you do out of  
 ' the protection of your fleet? In the win-  
 ' ter, if together, they are starved; and if  
 ' dispersed they are taken off in detail. I  
 ' am experienced in spring hopes and vernal  
 ' promises;



‘ promises ; I know what Ministers throw  
‘ out ; but at last will come your equinoc-  
‘ tial disappointment. You have got no-  
‘ thing in America but stations. You have  
‘ been three years teaching them the art of  
‘ war. They are apt scholars, and I will  
‘ venture to tell your Lordships, that the  
‘ American gentry will make officers enough  
‘ fit to command the troops of all the Euro-  
‘ pean powers. What you have sent there,  
‘ are too many to make peace, too few to  
‘ make war. If you conquer them, what  
‘ then? You cannot make them respect you ;  
‘ you cannot make them wear your cloth.  
‘ You will plant an invincible hatred in  
‘ their breasts against you. Coming from  
‘ the flock they do, they can never respect  
‘ you. If Ministers are founded in saying  
‘ there is no sort of treaty with France,  
‘ there is still a moment left ; the point of  
‘ honour is still safe. France must be as  
‘ self-destroying as England, to make a  
‘ treaty while you are giving her America  
‘ at the expence of twelve millions a year.  
‘ The intercourse has produced every thing  
‘ to France ; and England, old England,  
‘ must pay for all. I have at different times  
‘ made

CHAP.  
XLIII.

1777.

‘ made different propositions, adapted to the  
 ‘ circumstances in which they were offered.  
 ‘ The plan contained in the former bill, is  
 ‘ now impracticable ; the present motion will  
 ‘ tell you where you are, and what you have  
 ‘ now to depend upon. It may produce a  
 ‘ respectable division in America, and unanim-  
 ‘ ity at home. It will give America an  
 ‘ option ; she has yet made no option. You  
 ‘ have said, lay down your arms, and she  
 ‘ has given you the Spartan answer, “ come,  
 ‘ take.”

[*Here he read his motion*]

“ THAT an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully representing to his royal wisdom, that this House is deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the kingdom, from the continuation of an unnatural war against the British Colonies in America ; and most humbly to advise his Majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely the removal of accumulated grievances ; and to assure his Majesty,  
 that

that this House will enter upon this great and necessary work with chearfulness and dispatch, in order to open to his Majesty the only means of regaining the affections of the British Colonies, and of securing to Great Britain the commercial advantages of these valuable possessions; fully persuaded, that to heal and to redress, will be more congenial to the goodness and magnanimity of his Majesty, and more prevalent over the hearts of generous and free-born subjects, than the rigours of chastisement, and the horrors of a civil war, which hitherto have served only to sharpen resentments and consolidate union, and, if continued, must end in finally dissolving all ties between Great Britain and the Colonies."

Lord CHATHAM afterwards rose to explain what indeed he had before explained to Lord LYTTLETON. ' The proposal is ' specific. I thought this so clear, that I ' did not enlarge upon it. I mean the redress of all their grievances, and the right ' of disposing of their own money. This is ' to be done instantaneously. I will get out ' of my bed to move it on Monday. This ' will

H. A. P.  
XLIII.  
1777.

‘ will be the herald of peace ; this will open  
 ‘ the way for treaty ; this will shew Parlia-  
 ‘ ment sincerely disposed. Yet still much  
 ‘ must be left to treaty. Should you con-  
 ‘ quer this people, you conquer under the  
 ‘ cannon of France ; under a masked battery  
 ‘ then ready to open. The moment a treaty  
 ‘ with France appears, you must declare  
 ‘ war, though you had only five ships of  
 ‘ the line in England ; but France will defer  
 ‘ a treaty as long as possible. You are now  
 ‘ at the mercy of every little German chan-  
 ‘ cery ; and the pretensions of France will  
 ‘ increase daily, so as to become an avowed  
 ‘ party in either peace or war. We have  
 ‘ tried for unconditional submission : try  
 ‘ what can be gained by unconditional re-  
 ‘ dress. Less dignity will be lost in the  
 ‘ repeal, than in submitting to the demands  
 ‘ of German chanceries. We are the ag-  
 ‘ gressors. We have invaded them. We  
 ‘ have invaded them as much as the Span-  
 ‘ ish armada invaded England. Mercy  
 ‘ cannot do harm ; it will seat the King  
 ‘ where he ought to be, throned on the  
 ‘ hearts of his people ; and millions at home  
 ‘ and abroad, now employed in obloquy or  
 ‘ revolt, would pray for him.

‘ In



' In making his motion for addressing the  
 ' King, he insisted frequently and strongly  
 ' on the absolute necessity of immediately  
 ' making peace with America. Now, he  
 ' said, was the crisis, before France was a  
 ' party to the treaty. This was the only  
 ' moment left before the fate of this coun-  
 ' try was decided. The French court, he  
 ' observed, was too wise to lose the oppor-  
 ' tunity of effectually separating America  
 ' from the dominions of this kingdom.  
 ' War between France and Great Britain,  
 ' he said, was not less probable because it  
 ' had not yet been declared: it would be  
 ' folly in France to declare it now, while  
 ' America gave full employment to our  
 ' arms, and was pouring into her lap her  
 ' wealth and produce; the benefit of which  
 ' she was enjoying in peace. He enlarged  
 ' much on the importance of America to  
 ' this country, which, in peace and in war  
 ' he observed, he ever considered as the  
 ' great source of all our wealth and power.  
 ' And then added [raising his voice] " Your  
 ' " trade languishes, your taxes increase, your  
 ' " revenues diminish; France, at this mo-  
 ' " ment, is securing and drawing to herself

“ that commerce, which created your sea-  
 “ men, fed your islands, &c.” ‘ He repro-  
 ‘ bated the measures which produced, and  
 ‘ which have been pursued in the conduct  
 ‘ of the civil war, in the severest language;  
 ‘ infatuated measures giving rise, and still  
 ‘ continuing a cruel, unnatural, self destroy-  
 ‘ ing war. Success, it is said, is hoped for  
 ‘ in this campaign. Why? Because our  
 ‘ army will be as strong this year as it was  
 ‘ last, when it was not strong enough. The  
 ‘ notion of conquering America he treated  
 ‘ with the greatest contempt.’

Lord GOWER, and other Lords in Ad-  
 ministration, condemned the motion in the  
 severest terms : and Lord HILLSBOROUGH  
 affecting not to understand it, Lord CHAT-  
 HAM rose a second time, and said,

‘ I will, with your Lordship’s permission,  
 ‘ state shortly what I meant. My Lord, my  
 ‘ motion was stated generally, that I might  
 ‘ leave the question at large to be amended  
 ‘ by your Lordships. I did not dare to  
 ‘ point out the specific means. I drew the  
 ‘ motion up to the best of my poor abilities;  
 ‘ but

' but I intended it only as the herald of con-  
 ' ciliation, as the harbinger of peace to  
 ' our afflicted Colonies. But as the noble  
 ' Lord seems to wish for something more  
 ' specific on the subject, and through that  
 ' medium seeks my particular sentiments,  
 ' I will tell your Lordships very fairly what  
 ' I wish for. I wish for a repeal of every  
 ' oppressive act which your Lordships have  
 ' passed since 1763. I would put our bre-  
 ' thren in America precisely on the same  
 ' footing they stood at that period. I would  
 ' expect, that being left at liberty to tax  
 ' themselves, and dispose of their own pro-  
 ' perty, they would in return contribute to  
 ' the common burthens, according to their  
 ' means and abilities. I will move your  
 ' Lordships for a bill of repeal, as the only  
 ' means left to arrest that approaching de-  
 ' struction which threatens to overwhelm  
 ' us.—My Lords, I shall no doubt hear it  
 ' objected, Why should we submit or con-  
 ' cede? Has America done any thing on  
 ' her part to induce us to agree to so large  
 ' a ground of concession? I will tell you,  
 ' my Lords, why I think you should. You  
 ' have been the aggressors from the begin-

CHAP.  
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1777.

' ning. I shall not trouble your Lordships  
 ' with the particulars ; they have been stat-  
 ' ed and enforced by the noble and learned  
 ' Lord, who spoke last but one, (Lord  
 ' CAMDEN,) in a much more more able and  
 ' distinct manner than I could pretend to  
 ' state them. If, then, we are the aggress-  
 ' sors, it is your Lordships business to make  
 ' the first overture. I say again, this coun-  
 ' try has been the aggressor. You have  
 ' made descents upon their coasts ; you have  
 ' burnt their towns, plundered their coun-  
 ' try, made war upon the inhabitants, con-  
 ' fiscated their property, proscribed and  
 ' imprisoned their persons. I do therefore  
 ' affirm, my Lords, that instead of exacting  
 ' unconditional submission from the Colo-  
 ' nies, we should grant them unconditional  
 ' redress. We have injured them ; we have  
 ' endeavoured to enslave and oppress them.  
 ' Upon this ground, my Lords, instead of  
 ' chastisement, they are entitled to redress.  
 ' A repeal of those laws, of which they  
 ' complain, will be the first step to that re-  
 ' dress. The people of America look upon  
 ' Parliament as the authors of their miseries ;  
 ' their affections are estranged from their  
 ' Sovereign.



' Sovereign. Let, then, reparation come  
 ' from the hands that inflicted the injuries;  
 ' let conciliation succeed chastisement; and  
 ' I do maintain, that Parliament will again  
 ' recover its authority; that his Majesty  
 ' will be once more enthroned in the hearts  
 ' of his American subjects; and that your  
 ' Lordships, as contributing to so great,  
 ' glorious, salutary, and benignant a work,  
 ' will receive the prayers and benedictions  
 ' of every part of the British empire.'

The motion was negatived.

The session ended on the sixth day of  
June 1777.

## C H A P. XLIV.

LORD CHATHAM'S SPEECH ON THE ADDRESS, AND HIS AMENDMENT—ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE INDIANS IN NORTH AMERICA—ON THE RETURN OF THE ARMY---ON THE CAPTURE OF GENERAL BURGOYNE'S ARMY---HIS MOTION ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE INDIANS---HIS SPEECH AGAINST A MOTION TO ADJOURN.

CHAP.  
XLIV.  
1777.

PARLIAMENT met on the 18th day of November 1777. The war with America becoming every day more critical, Lord CHATHAM, though he had scarcely strength to move, foreseeing the fatal consequences of it, was exceedingly ardent in his wish to arrest the evil, in any state of its progress. He therefore attended on the first day of the Session. Lord PERCY having moved the Address, Lord CHATHAM rose in a little time after.

‘ I rise, my Lords,’ he said\*, ‘ to declare  
 ‘ my sentiments on this most solemn and  
 ‘ serious subject. It has imposed a load  
 ‘ upon my mind, which, I fear, nothing can  
 ‘ remove; but which impels me to endeavour  
 ‘ its alleviation, by a free and unreserved  
 ‘ communication of my sentiments.

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 XLIV.

1777.  
 Lord  
 Chatham's  
 speech on  
 the  
 Address.

‘ In the first part of the Address, I have  
 ‘ the honour of heartily concurring with  
 ‘ the noble Earl who moved it. No man  
 ‘ feels sincerer joy than I do; none can of-  
 ‘ fer more genuine congratulation on every  
 ‘ accession of strength to the Protestant suc-  
 ‘ cession: I therefore join in every congra-  
 ‘ tulation on the birth of another princess,  
 ‘ and the happy recovery of her Majesty.  
 ‘ But I must stop here; my courtly com-  
 ‘ plaissance will carry me no further: I will  
 ‘ not join in congratulation on misfortune  
 ‘ and disgrace: I cannot concur in a blind  
 ‘ and servile address, which approves, and  
 ‘ endeavours to sanctify, the monstrous  
 ‘ measures that have heaped disgrace and

\* This speech was taken by the same gentleman who took that of the 20th of January 1775, and has been equally esteemed for its accuracy.

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‘ misfortune upon us---that have brought  
 ‘ ruin to our doors. This, my Lords, is a  
 ‘ perilous and tremendous moment! It is  
 ‘ not a time for adulation. The smooth-  
 ‘ nefs of flattery cannot now avail---cannot  
 ‘ fave us in this rugged and awful crisis.  
 ‘ It is now necessary to instruct the Throne  
 ‘ in the language of truth. We must dispel  
 ‘ the delusion and the darkness which enve-  
 ‘ lope it; and display, in its full danger and  
 ‘ true colours, the ruin that is brought to  
 ‘ our doors.

‘ This, my Lords, is our duty; it is the  
 ‘ proper function of this noble assembly, fit-  
 ‘ ting, as we do, upon our honours in this  
 ‘ house, the hereditary council of the  
 ‘ crown: And *who* is the minister---*where* is  
 ‘ the minister, that has dared to suggest to  
 ‘ the Throne the contrary, unconstitutional  
 ‘ language, this day delivered from it?---  
 ‘ The accustomed language from the Throne  
 ‘ has been application to Parliament for  
 ‘ advice, and a reliance on its constitutional  
 ‘ advice and assistance: as it is the right of  
 ‘ Parliament to give, so it is the duty of the  
 ‘ crown to ask it. But, on this day, and in  
 ‘ this



' this extreme momentous exigency, no  
 ' reliance is reposed on our constitutional  
 ' counsels! no advice is asked from the so-  
 ' ber and enlightened care of Parliament!  
 ' But the Crown, from itself, and by itself,  
 ' declares an unalterable determination to  
 ' pursue measures---and what measures, my  
 ' Lords?---The measures that have produ-  
 ' ced the imminent perils that threaten us;  
 ' the measures that have brought ruin to  
 ' our doors.

' Can the minister of the day now pre-  
 ' sume to expect a continuance of support,  
 ' in this ruinous infatuation? Can Parlia-  
 ' ment be so dead to its dignity and its duty,  
 ' as to be thus deluded into the loss of the  
 ' one, and the violation of the other?---  
 ' To give an unlimited credit and support  
 ' for the *steady* perseverance in measures;  
 ' that is the word and the conduct---  
 ' proposed for our parliamentary advice,  
 ' but dictated and forced upon us---in mea-  
 ' sures, I say, my Lords, which have redu-  
 ' ced this late flourishing empire to ruin and  
 ' contempt!---" *But yesterday, and England*  
 " *might have stood against the world: now*  
 ' *none*

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“ *none so poor to do her reverence.*” I use  
 ‘ the words of a poet ; but though it be  
 ‘ poetry, it is no fiction. It is a shameful  
 ‘ truth, that not only the power and strength  
 ‘ of this country are wasting away and ex-  
 ‘ piring ; but her well-earned glories, her  
 ‘ true honour, and substantial dignity,  
 ‘ are sacrificed. France, my Lords, has  
 ‘ insulted you ; she has encouraged and sus-  
 ‘ tained America ; and whether America be  
 ‘ wrong or right, the dignity of this country  
 ‘ ought to spurn at the officious insult of  
 ‘ French interference. The ministers and  
 ‘ ambassadors of those who are called rebels  
 ‘ and enemies, are in Paris ; in Paris they  
 ‘ transact the reciprocal interests of Ame-  
 ‘ rica and France. Can there be a more  
 ‘ mortifying insult ? Can even our ministers  
 ‘ sustain a more humiliating disgrace ? Do  
 ‘ they dare to resent it ? Do they presume  
 ‘ even to hint a vindication of their honour,  
 ‘ and the dignity of the state, by requiring  
 ‘ the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of  
 ‘ America ? Such is the degradation to  
 ‘ which they have reduced the glories of  
 ‘ England ! The people, whom they affect  
 ‘ to call contemptible rebels, but whose

‘ growing power has at last obtained the  
‘ name of enemies ; the people with whom  
‘ they have engaged this country in war,  
‘ and against whom they now command our  
‘ implicit support in every measure of des-  
‘ perate hostility : this people, despised as  
‘ rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are  
‘ abetted against you, supplied with every  
‘ military store, their interests consulted,  
‘ and their ambassadours entertained, by  
‘ your inveterate enemy ! and our ministers  
‘ dare not interpose with dignity or effect.  
‘ Is this the honour of a great kingdom ?  
‘ Is this the indignant spirit of England,  
‘ who, “ but yesterday,” gave law to the  
‘ House of Bourbon ? My Lords, the dig-  
‘ nity of nations demands a decisive conduct  
‘ in a situation like this. Even when the  
‘ greatest prince that perhaps this country  
‘ ever saw, filled our throne, the requis-  
‘ tion of a Spanish general, on a similar sub-  
‘ ject, was attended to, and complied with ;  
‘ for, on the spirited remonstrance of the  
‘ duke of Alva ; Elizabeth found herself obli-  
‘ ged to deny the Flemish exiles all counte-  
‘ nance, support, or even entrance into her  
‘ dominions ; and the Count le Marque,  
‘ with

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with his few desperate followers, was expelled the kingdom. Happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defence, they made themselves masters of the place: and this was the foundation of the United Provinces.

My Lords, this ruinous and ignominious situation, where we cannot act with success, nor suffer with honour, calls upon us to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of truth, to rescue the ear of Majesty from the delusions which surround it. The desperate state of our arms abroad is in part known: no man thinks more highly of them than I do: I love and honour the English troops: I know their virtues and their valour: I know they can achieve any thing except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is an impossibility. You cannot, I venture to say it, YOU CANNOT conquer America. Your armies last war effected every thing that could be effected; and what was it? It cost a numerous army, under the command of a most able general,

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' ral\*, now a noble Lord in this house, a  
 ' long and laborious campaign, to expel  
 ' five thousand Frenchmen from French  
 ' America. My Lords, *you cannot conquer*  
 ' *America*. What is your present situation  
 ' there? We do not know the worst; but  
 ' we know, that in three campaigns we have  
 ' done nothing, and suffered much. Be-  
 ' sides the sufferings, perhaps *total loss*, of  
 ' the Northern force†; the best appointed  
 ' army that ever took the field commanded  
 ' by Sir William Howe, has retired from  
 ' the American lines; *he was obliged* to re-  
 ' linquish his attempt, and with great delay  
 ' and danger, to adopt a new and distant  
 ' plan of operations. We shall soon know,  
 ' and in any event have reason to lament,  
 ' what may have happened since. As to  
 ' conquest, therefore, my Lords, I repeat,

\* Sir JEFFERY (now Lord) AMHERST.

† General BURGOYNE's army. The history of it is  
 short—Most of its bravest officers fell; and about half its  
 numbers: the REST surrendered to the enemy on the 17th  
 of October, 1777. See the Gazettes.—The account of this  
*total loss*, as the noble speaker's prescience expressed it on  
 the 18th of November, arrived in England in the begin-  
 ning of December,

' it

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‘ it is impossible.—You may swell every ex-  
 ‘ pence, and every effort, still more extrava-  
 ‘ gantly; pile and accumulate every assist-  
 ‘ ance you can buy or borrow; traffic and  
 ‘ barter with every little pitiful German  
 ‘ prince, that sells and sends his subjects to  
 ‘ the shambles of a foreign prince; your  
 ‘ efforts are for ever vain and impotent—  
 ‘ doubly so from this mercenary aid on  
 ‘ which you rely; for it irritates, to an in-  
 ‘ curable resentment, the minds of your ene-  
 ‘ mies—to over-run them with the merce-  
 ‘ nary sons of rapine and plunder; devot-  
 ‘ ing them and their possessions to the rapa-  
 ‘ city of hireling cruelty! If I were an  
 ‘ American, as I am an Englishman, while  
 ‘ a foreign troop was landed in my coun-  
 ‘ try, I never would lay down my arms—  
 ‘ never—never—never.

‘ Your own army is infected with the con-  
 ‘ tagion of these illiberal allies. The spirit  
 ‘ of plunder and of rapine is gone forth  
 ‘ among them. I know it—and notwith-  
 ‘ standing what the noble Earl\*, who moved

\* Lord PERCY.

‘ the

the address, has given as his opinion of our American army, I know from authentic information, and the *most experienced officers*, that our discipline is deeply wounded. Whilst this is notoriously our sinking situation, America grows and flourishes; whilst our strength and discipline are lowered, theirs are rising and improving.

But, my Lords, who is the man, that in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorise and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance, the wild and inhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian, the defence of disputed rights; and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My Lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment; unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character---it is a violation of the Constitution---I believe it is against law. It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of  
our

‘ our army are thus impaired ; infected with  
 ‘ the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine  
 ‘ ---familiarized to the horrid scenes of  
 ‘ savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of  
 ‘ the noble and generous principles which  
 ‘ dignify a soldier; no longer sympathize  
 ‘ with the dignity of the royal banner, nor  
 ‘ feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of  
 ‘ glorious war, “that make ambition vir-  
 ‘ tue!” What makes ambition virtue?—  
 ‘ the sense of honour. But is the sense of  
 ‘ honour consistent with a spirit of plunder,  
 ‘ or the practice of murder? Can it flow  
 ‘ from mercenary motives, or can it prompt  
 ‘ to cruel deeds? Besides these murderers  
 ‘ and plunderers, let me ask our Ministers,  
 ‘ what other allies have they acquired?  
 ‘ What *other powers* have they associated to  
 ‘ their cause? Have they entered into  
 ‘ alliance with the *king of the gypsies*? No-  
 ‘ thing, my Lords, is too low or too ludi-  
 ‘ crous to be consistent with their counsels.

‘ The independent views of America  
 ‘ have been stated and asserted as the foun-  
 ‘ dation of this address. My Lords, no  
 ‘ man wishes more for the due dependence

‘ of



of America on this country more than I  
 do. To preserve it, and not confirm that  
 state of independance into which *your*  
*measures* hitherto have *driven* them, is the  
 object which we ought to unite in attain-  
 ing. The Americans, contending for  
 their rights against the arbitrary exactions,  
 I love and admire; it is the struggle of free  
 and virtuous patriots: but contending for  
 independency and total disconnection  
 from England, as an Englishman, I cannot  
 wish them success; for, in a due constitu-  
 tional dependency, including the ancient  
 supremacy of this country in regulating  
 their commerce and navigation, consists  
 the mutual happiness and prosperity both  
 of England and America. She derived  
 assistance and protection from us; and we  
 reaped from her the most important ad-  
 vantages:—She was, indeed, the fountain  
 of our wealth, the nerve of our strength,  
 the nursery and basis of our naval power.  
 It is our duty, therefore, my Lords, if we  
 wish to save our country, most seriously to  
 endeavour the recovery of these most  
 beneficial subjects: and in this perilous  
 crisis, perhaps the present moment may

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' be the only one in which we can hope for  
 ' success: for in their negotiations with  
 ' France, they have or think they have,  
 ' reason to complain: though it be noto-  
 ' rious that they have received from that  
 ' power, important supplies and assistance  
 ' of various kinds, yet it is certain they ex-  
 ' pected it in a more decisive and immediate  
 ' degree. America is in ill humour with  
 ' France, on some points that have not en-  
 ' tirely answered her expectations: let us  
 ' wisely take advantage of every possible  
 ' moment of reconciliation. Besides, the  
 ' natural disposition of America herself still  
 ' leans towards England; to the old habits  
 ' of connection and mutual interest that  
 ' united both countries. This *was* the  
 ' established sentiment of all the Continent;  
 ' and still, my Lords, in the great and prin-  
 ' cipal part, the sound part of America,  
 ' this wise and affectionate disposition pre-  
 ' vails; and there is a very considerable  
 ' part of America yet sound—the middle  
 ' and the southern provinces; some parts  
 ' may be factious and blind to their true  
 ' interests; but if we express a wise and be-  
 ' nevolent disposition to communicate with  
 ' them

‘ them those immutable rights of nature,  
‘ and those Constitutional liberties, to which  
‘ they are equally entitled with ourselves;  
‘ by a conduct so just and humane, we shall  
‘ confirm the favourable, and conciliate the  
‘ adverse. I say, my Lords, the rights and  
‘ liberties to which they are equally entitled  
‘ with ourselves, but no more. I would  
‘ participate to them every enjoyment and  
‘ freedom which the colonizing subjects of  
‘ a free state can possess, or wish to possess;  
‘ and I do not see why they should not en-  
‘ joy every fundamental right in their pro-  
‘ perty, and every original substantial liber-  
‘ ty, which Devonshire or Surry, or the  
‘ county I live in, or any other county in  
‘ England, can claim; reserving always, as  
‘ the sacred right of the mother country,  
‘ the due constitutional dependency of the  
‘ Colonies. The inherent supremacy of  
‘ the state in regulating and protecting the  
‘ navigation and commerce of all her sub-  
‘ jects, is necessary for the mutual benefit  
‘ and preservation of every part, to consti-  
‘ tute and preserve the prosperous arrange-  
‘ ment of the whole empire.



‘ The found parts of America, of which  
 ‘ I have spoken, must be sensible of these  
 ‘ great truths, and of their real interests.  
 ‘ America is not in that state of desperate  
 ‘ and contemptible rebellion, which this  
 ‘ country has been deluded to believe. It  
 ‘ is not a wild and lawless banditti, who,  
 ‘ having nothing to lose, might hope to  
 ‘ snatch something from public convulsions;  
 ‘ many of their leaders and great men have  
 ‘ a great stake in this great contest:—the  
 ‘ gentleman who conducts their armies, I  
 ‘ am told, has an estate of four or five thou-  
 ‘ sand pounds a year: and when I consider  
 ‘ these things, I cannot but lament the in-  
 ‘ considerate violence of our penal acts, our  
 ‘ declarations of treason and rebellion, with  
 ‘ all the fatal effects of attainder and  
 ‘ confiscation.

‘ As to the disposition of foreign powers,  
 ‘ which is asserted to be pacific\* and friendly,  
 ‘ let us judge, my Lords, rather by their  
 ‘ actions and the nature of things, than by  
 ‘ interested assertions. The uniform assist-

\* In the King’s Speech.



' ance, supplied to America by France, sug-  
 ' gests a different conclusion:—The most  
 ' important interests of France, in aggran-  
 ' dizing and enriching herself with what she  
 ' most wants, supplies of every naval store  
 ' from America, must inspire her with dif-  
 ' ferent sentiments. The extraordinary  
 ' preparations of the House of Bourbon,  
 ' by land and by sea, from Dunkirk to the  
 ' Streights, equally ready and willing to  
 ' overwhelm these defenceless islands, should  
 ' rouse us to a sense of their real disposition,  
 ' and our own danger. Not five thousand  
 ' troops in England!—hardly three thou-  
 ' sand in Ireland! What can we oppose to  
 ' the combined force of our enemies?—  
 ' Scarcely twenty ships of the line fully or  
 ' sufficiently manned, that any Admiral's re-  
 ' putation would permit him to take the  
 ' command of†.—The river of Lisbon in  
 the

† In reply to the noble speaker's assertion, relative to  
 the number of ships, &c. the first Lord of the Admiralty  
 rose in his place; and gave their Lordships official assur-  
 " ance, " that thirty-five ships of the line were then  
 " (Nov. 18th, 1777) completely ready; that seven more  
 " would be ready in a few weeks; in all *forty-two*: and  
 " that an Admiral of the most acknowledged merit (he  
 " then

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the possession of our enemies!—The seas swept by American privateers:—Our channel torn to peices by them! In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home, and calamity abroad, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers,---unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed;---where is the man with the forehead to promise or hope for success in such a situation? or, from perseverance in the measures that have driven us to it? Who has the forehead to do so? Where is that man? I should be glad to see his face.

You cannot *conciliate* America by your present measures---you cannot *subdue* her

(then said) and of the highest reputation, Admiral KEPPEL, was ready to take the command."—In March, 1778, Admiral KEPPEL went to Portsmouth to take the command. He found "but *six ships* ready," and those in ill condition.—See *Defence of Admiral Keppel*.—"On the 30th of June, twenty ships of the line were ready, with which Admiral KEPPEL sailed. Thirty-two ships of the line then lay in Brest-water, besides an incredible number of frigates." *Ibid.*—The English fleet were forced to return, from this vast superiority of the fleet of France.—"A first Lord of the Admiralty, if he does not take care always to have a fleet superior to both France and Spain, *deserves to lose his head*,"—Lord SANDWICH.

by

' by your present, or by any measures.  
 ' What, then, can you do? You cannot  
 ' conquer, you cannot gain, but you can  
 ' *address*; you can lull the fears and anxi-  
 ' eties of the moment into an ignorance of  
 ' the danger that should produce them.  
 ' But, my Lords, the time demands the  
 ' language of truth:—we must not now ap-  
 ' ply the flattering unction of servile com-  
 ' pliance, or blind complaisance. In a just  
 ' and necessary war, to maintain the rights  
 ' or honour of my country, I would strip  
 ' the shirt from my back to support it. But  
 ' in such a war as this, unjust in its princi-  
 ' ple, impracticable in its means, and ruin-  
 ' ous in its consequences, I would not con-  
 ' tribute a single effort, nor a single shilling.  
 ' I do not call for vengeance on the heads  
 ' of those who have been guilty; I only re-  
 ' commend to them to make their retreat;  
 ' let them walk off; and let them make haste,  
 ' or they may be assured that speedy and  
 ' condign punishment will over-take them.

' My Lords, I have submitted to you,  
 ' with the freedom and truth which I think  
 ' my duty, my sentiments on your present



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' awful situation. I have laid before you  
 ' the ruin of your power, the disgrace of  
 ' your reputation, the pollution of your dis-  
 ' ciplines the contamination of your morals,  
 ' the complication of calamities, foreign and  
 ' domestic, that overwhelm your sinking  
 ' country. Your dearest interests, your own  
 ' liberties, the Constitution itself, totters to  
 ' the foundation. All this disgraceful dan-  
 ' ger, this multitude of misery, is the mon-  
 ' strous offspring of this unnatural war.  
 ' We have been deceived and deluded too  
 ' long: let us now stop short: this is the  
 ' crisis—may be the only \* crisis, of time and  
 ' situation, to give us a possibility of escape  
 ' from the fatal effects of our delusions.  
 ' But if in an obstinate and infatuated per-  
 ' severance in folly, we meanly echo back  
 ' the peremptory words this day presented  
 ' to us, nothing can save this devoted coun-

\* It cannot have escaped observation, with what urgent  
 anxiety the noble speaker has pressed this point through-  
 out his speech; the critical necessity of *instantly* treating  
 with America. But the warning voice was heard in vain:  
 the *Address* triumphed: Parliament adjourned: Ministers  
 enjoyed the festive recess of a long Christmas:—And  
 America *ratified* her alliance with France.

' try



try from complete and final ruin. We  
madly rush into multiplied miseries and  
“confusion worse confounded.”

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Is it possible, can it be believed, that  
Ministers are yet blind to this impending  
destruction?—I did hope, that instead of  
this false and empty vanity, this over-  
weening pride, engendering high conceits,  
and presumptuous imaginations—that  
Ministers would have humbled themselves  
in their errors, would have confessed and  
retracted them, and by an active, though  
a late repentance, have endeavoured to  
redeem them. But, my Lords since they  
had neither sagacity to foresee, nor jus-  
tice nor humanity to shun, these oppres-  
sive calamities; since, not even severe  
experience can make them feel, nor the  
imminent ruin of their country awaken  
them from their stupefaction, the guardian  
care of Parliament must interpose. I shall  
therefore, my Lords, propose to you an  
amendment to the address to his Majesty,  
to be inserted immediately after the two  
first paragraphs of congratulation on the  
birth of a Princess; to recommend an im-  
mediate

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mediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries.—This my Lords, is yet in our power; and let not the wisdom and justice of your Lordships neglect the happy, and, perhaps the only opportunity. By the establishment of irrecoverable law, founded on mutual rights, and ascertained by treaty, these glorious enjoyments may be firmly perpetuated. And let me repeat to your Lordships, that the strong bias of America, at least of the wise and sounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and Constitutional re-connection with you. Notwithstanding the temporary intrigues with France, we may still be assured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us. America and France cannot be congenial; there is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American, that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

My Lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded

' founded on every principle of affection,  
 ' as well consideration of interest—to restore  
 ' that favourable disposition into a perman-  
 ' ent and powerful re-union with this coun-  
 ' try—to revive the mutual strength of the  
 ' empire;—again, to awe the House of  
 ' Bourbon, instead of meanly truckling, as  
 ' our present calamities compel us, to every  
 ' insult of French caprice, and Spanish punc-  
 ' tilio—to re-establish our commerce—to re-  
 ' assert our rights and our honour—to con-  
 ' firm our interests, and renew our glories  
 ' for ever (a consummation most devoutly  
 ' to be endeavoured! and which, I trust,  
 ' may yet arise from reconciliation with  
 ' America)—I have the honour of submit-  
 ' ting to you the following amendment;  
 ' which I move to be inserted after the two  
 ' first paragraphs of the address:

“ And that this House does most hum-  
 “ bly advise and supplicate his Majesty, to  
 “ be pleased to cause the most speedy and  
 “ effectual measures to be taken, for resto-  
 “ ring peace in America; and that no time  
 “ may be lost in proposing an immediate  
 “ cessation of hostilities there, in order to  
 “ the opening a treaty for the final settle-  
 “ ment

His A-  
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 ments.



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“ ment of the tranquillity of these invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war; and by a just and adequate security against the return of the like calamities in times to come. And this House desire to offer the most dutiful assurances to his Majesty, that they will, in due time, cheerfully co-operate with the magnanimity and tender goodness of his Majesty, for the preservation of his people, by such explicit and most solemn declarations, and provisions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as may be judged necessary for the ascertaining and fixing for ever the respective rights of Great Britain and her Colonies.”

The amendment was negatived.

In the course of the debate, Lord SUFFOLK, Secretary of State for the Northern department, undertook to defend the employment of the Indians in the war. His Lordship contended, that, besides its *policy* and *necessity*, the measure was also allowable on *principle*; for that ‘ it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that *God and Nature put into our hands.*’

‘ I AM



‘ I AM ASTONISHED ! ’ (exclaimed Lord CHATHAM, as he rose)—‘ shocked ! to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed in this house, or in this country : principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian !

‘ My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again upon your attention : but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled by every duty. My Lords, we are called upon as members of this House, as men, as Christian-men, to protest against such notions standing near the throne, polluting the ear of Majesty. “ That God and nature put into our hands.” I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and nature ; but I know, that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity.—What ! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife—to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating ; literally, my Lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles ! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and

‘ every

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every generous feeling of humanity. And, my Lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity.

These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that *Right Reverend* Bench, those holy ministers of the gospel, and pious pastors of our church; I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God: I appeal to the wisdom and the law of *this learned* Bench, to defend and support the justice of their country: I call upon the Bishops, to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn;—upon the learned Judges, to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution: I call upon the honour of your Lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own: I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character: I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble

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\* Lor  
Lord H  
mada; t  
tapestry.

' noble Lord \* frowns with indignation  
 ' at the disgrace of his country. In vain  
 ' he led your victorious fleets against the  
 ' boasted Armada of Spain ; in vain he de-  
 ' fended and established the honour, the  
 ' liberties, the religion, the *Protestant reli-*  
 ' *gion*, of this country, against the arbitrary  
 ' cruelties of Popery and the Inquisition, if  
 ' these more than popish cruelties and inqui-  
 ' sitorial practices are let loose among us ;  
 ' to turn forth into our settlements, among  
 ' our ancient connections, friends, and re-  
 ' lations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting  
 ' for the blood of man, woman, and child !  
 ' to send forth the infidel savage—against  
 ' whom ? against your Protestant brethren ;  
 ' to lay waste their country, to desolate their  
 ' dwellings, and extirpate their race and  
 ' name, with these horrible hell-hounds of  
 ' savage war ! ---*hell-hounds, I say of, savage*  
 ' *war*. Spain armed herself with blood-  
 ' hounds to extirpate the wretched natives  
 ' of America ; and we improve on the inhu-

\* Lord EFFINGHAM.—Lord EFFINGHAM HOWARD was  
 Lord High Admiral of England against the Spanish ar-  
 mada; the destruction of which is represented in the  
 tapestry.



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‘ man example even of Spanish cruelty;  
 ‘ we turn loose these savage hell-hounds  
 ‘ against our brethren and countrymen in  
 ‘ America, of the same language, laws,  
 ‘ liberties, and religion; endeared to us by  
 ‘ every tie that should sanctify humanity.

‘ My Lords, this awful subject, so im-  
 ‘ portant to our honour, our constitution,  
 ‘ and our religion, demands the most so-  
 ‘ lemn and effectual enquiry. And I again  
 ‘ call upon your Lordships, and the united  
 ‘ powers of the state, to examine it tho-  
 ‘ roughly and decisively, and to stamp upon  
 ‘ it an indelible stigma of the public abhor-  
 ‘ rence. And I again implore those holy  
 ‘ prelates of our religion, to do away these  
 ‘ iniquities from among us. Let them per-  
 ‘ form a lustration; let them purify this  
 ‘ House, and this country, from this sin.

‘ My Lords, I am old and weak, and at  
 ‘ present unable to say more; but my feel-  
 ‘ ings and indignation were too strong to  
 ‘ have said less. I could not have slept this  
 ‘ night in my bed, nor reposed my head on  
 ‘ my pillow, without giving this vent to my  
 ‘ eternal abhorrence of such preposterous  
 ‘ and enormous principles.’



This speech had no effect. The Address was agreed to.

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On the 2d day of December 1777, the duke of RICHMOND moved for the returns of the army and navy in Ireland and America. Upon this occasion, Lord CHATHAM said,

‘ I most cheerfully testify my approbation of the motions now made by the noble Duke; and am firmly persuaded, that they have originated in the most exalted motives; nor am I less pleased with the very candid reception they have met with from your Lordships. I think they will draw forth a great mass of useful information; but as to those respecting the state of our military strength, there appears something yet wanting to render them complete. Nothing has been offered which may lead to inform us of the actual state of the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, those two very important fortresses, which have hitherto enabled us to maintain our superiority in the Mediterranean, and one of them (Gibraltar) situated on the very

On the  
returns of  
the army.

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continent of Spain, the best proof of our naval power, and the only solid check on that of the House of Bourbon; yet those two important fortresses are left to chance, and the pacific dispositions of France and Spain, as the only protection; we hold them but by sufferance. I know them to be in a defenceless state. None of your Lordships are ignorant that we lost Mahon at the commencement of the last war. It was indeed a fatal disaster, as it exposed the trade and commerce of the Mediterranean to the ravages of our inveterate and then powerful enemies. My Lords, such was the light the acquisition of that fortress was looked upon when it was first taken, that the Duke of MALBOROUGH, who was no great penman, but who employed a secretary to draw up his dispatches, in answer to the letter from the able general and consummate statesman who conquered it (the father of my noble relation now in my eye, Earl STANHOPE) trusted the dispatch to the secretary, but added a postscript in his own hand-writing, where he recommended particularly to the victorious general, to by no means neglect

neglect putting that fortress in the best  
 possible state of defence, and to garrison  
 it with natives, and not foreigners. When  
 I had the honour, soon after it fell into  
 the hands of the French, to be called into  
 the councils of the late King, I never lost  
 sight of that circumstance. Gibraltar still  
 remained in our hands; and the war in  
 Germany, which Parliament thought fit  
 to engage in, and bind themselves to, be-  
 fore I came into office; though we were  
 carrying on the most extensive operations  
 in America; though the coast of Africa,  
 and the West India islands, required a  
 suitable force to protect them; and though  
 these kingdoms called for a proportionate  
 army, not only to act defensively, but of-  
 fensively on the coasts of our enemies;  
 notwithstanding all those pressing services,  
 my Lords, having the counsel of that  
 great man constantly in view, it deter-  
 mined me, that whatever demands, or  
 how much soever such troops might be  
 wanting elsewhere, that Gibraltar should  
 never want a full and adequate defence.  
 I never had, my Lords, less than eight  
 battalions to defend it. I think a bat-

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' lion was then about eight hundred strong.  
 ' So that, my Lords, I affirm that Gibraltar  
 ' was never trusted to a garrison of less than  
 ' six thousand men. My Lords, this force  
 ' was, as it were, locked up in that fortress  
 ' during the whole of the late war; nor  
 ' could any appearance of the most urgent  
 ' necessity induce me to weaken it. My  
 ' Lords, I know that the very weak and  
 ' defenceless state of these islands does not  
 ' seem to admit of any troops being spared  
 ' from the home defence; but, my Lords,  
 ' give me leave to say, that whatever reluc-  
 ' tance or disgust there may have appeared  
 ' in several veteran and able Generals to  
 ' the service, where the tomahawk and  
 ' scalping-knife were to be the warlike in-  
 ' struments employed as the engines of de-  
 ' struction, I am convinced there are many,  
 ' some of whom I have in my eye [supposed  
 ' to mean Lords Townshend and Amherst]  
 ' who would, with ardour and alacrity, ac-  
 ' cept of any command, where the true  
 ' honour, interest, and safety of their coun-  
 ' try were concerned. My Lords, the mo-  
 ' ment is arrived when this spirit should be  
 ' exerted. Gibraltar is garrisoned by Hano-  
 ' verians.



' verians. I am told, if any accident should  
 ' happen to the present commanding officer  
 ' there, that the care of the fortress, and  
 ' the command of the troops, would de-  
 ' volve on a foreigner. I do not recollect  
 ' his name, but this is my information; and  
 ' if I do not hear it contradicted, I must  
 ' take it for granted. I am well authorised  
 ' to say, my Lords, that such is the pre-  
 ' sent defenceless state of Gibraltar, that  
 ' there is not a second relief in case of an  
 ' attack; not men sufficient to man the  
 ' works, while those fatigued with service  
 ' and watching, go to refresh, eat, or sleep;  
 ' though Germany and the wilds of Ame-  
 ' rica have been ransacked for the purpose.

' My Lords, we should not want men in  
 ' a good cause; and nothing ought to be  
 ' left untried to procure them. I remem-  
 ' ber, soon after the period I shall take the  
 ' liberty to remind your Lordships of, after  
 ' an unnatural rebellion had been extin-  
 ' guished in the northern part of this island,  
 ' men not fighting for liberty, or the con-  
 ' stitution of their country, but professedly  
 ' to annihilate both, as advocates for popery,

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' slavery, and arbitrary power; not like our  
 ' brethren in America, Whigs in principle,  
 ' and heroes in conduct: I remember, I say,  
 ' my Lords, that I employed these very re-  
 ' bels in the service and defence of their  
 ' country. They were reclaimed by this  
 ' means; they fought our battles; they  
 ' cheerfully bled in defence of those liber-  
 ' ties which they attempted to overthrow  
 ' but a few years before. What, then, does  
 ' your Lordships imagine would be the ef-  
 ' fect of a similar conduct towards the  
 ' Whigs and freemen of America, whom  
 ' you call rebels? Would it not, think you,  
 ' operate in like manner? They would  
 ' fight your battles; they would cheerfully  
 ' bleed for you; they would render you  
 ' superior to all your foreign enemies; they  
 ' would bear your arms triumphant to eve-  
 ' ry quarter of the globe. You have, I fear,  
 ' lost the affection, the good will of this  
 ' people, by employing mercenary Germans  
 ' to butcher them; by spiriting up the sa-  
 ' vages of America to scalp them with the  
 ' tomahawk. My Lords, I would have you  
 ' consider, should this war be pushed to  
 ' extremities, the possible consequences. It

' is

‘ is no farther from America to England  
 ‘ than from England to America. If con-  
 ‘ quest is to be the issue, we must trust to  
 ‘ that issue, and fairly abide by it.

‘ The noble Earl at the head of the Ad-  
 ‘ miralty, the last night I had the honour to  
 ‘ address your Lordships, contradicted me  
 ‘ when I asserted we had not above twenty  
 ‘ ships of the line fit to proceed to sea (on  
 ‘ actual service) at a short warning. I again  
 ‘ repeat the assertion, though I gave it up  
 ‘ at that time, on account of the plausibi-  
 ‘ lity and confidence with which the fact  
 ‘ was asserted. I now say, there are not  
 ‘ above twenty ships of the line, on which  
 ‘ any naval officer of eminence and skill in  
 ‘ his profession would stake his credit. The  
 ‘ noble Earl in office said, there were thir-  
 ‘ ty-five ships of the line fit for sea; but  
 ‘ acknowledged, that there was a deficiency  
 ‘ of near three thousand of the complements  
 ‘ necessary to proceed upon actual service.  
 ‘ How did the noble Earl propose to fill up  
 ‘ that deficiency?—By supernumeraries, by  
 ‘ transfers, by recruits, &c. Will the no-  
 ‘ ble Earl say, that twenty-one thousand is

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a full war complement for thirty-five ships  
 of the line? or will he undertake to assure  
 this House (even allowing for those odds  
 and ends) that the ships will be properly  
 manned by the numbers now actually on  
 board? But if every particular fact, stated  
 by the noble Earl, be precisely as he would  
 persuade your Lordships to believe; will  
 his Lordship pretend to affirm, that thirty-  
 five ships of the line, or even forty-two  
 (the highest that his Lordship ventured to  
 go) would, in case of a rupture with the  
 House of Bourbon, be sufficient for all  
 the purposes of offence, defence, and pro-  
 tection? I am sure his Lordship will not.  
 A fleet in the Channel; one in the West-  
 ern sea; another in the West Indies; and  
 one in the Mediterranean; besides con-  
 voys and cruizers, to protect our com-  
 merce and annoy our enemies. I say, my  
 Lords, that thirty-five ships of the line  
 would be necessary for the protection of  
 our trade and fortresses in the Mediter-  
 ranean alone. We must be equal to the  
 combined force of France and Spain in  
 that sea, or we need not send a single ship  
 there. Ships must be stationed to com-  
 mand respect from the powers on the coast  
 of



of Barbary, and to prevent their piracies  
on our merchant vessels. We must have  
a superior fleet in the Western sea like-  
wise, and we must have one in the Chan-  
nel equal to the defence of our own  
coast.

These were the ideas which prevailed,  
when I had the honour of assisting in the  
British councils, and at all other preceding  
periods of naval hostility since the Re-  
volution. My Lords, if Lord ANSON was  
capable of the high office the noble Earl  
now presides in, the noble Earl is cer-  
tainly mistaken in saying, that thirty-five  
or fifty-five ships of the line are equal to  
the several services now enumerated. That  
great naval commander gave in a list, at  
one time, of eighty-four thousand seamen  
actually on the books. It is well worthy  
your Lordship's inquiry, to know what are  
the present number. The motion made  
by the noble Duke leads to that inquiry,  
and meets my warmest approbation; but  
that we may have every necessary infor-  
mation, I recommend to my noble friend  
to amend his motion by extending it to  
Gibraltar

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Gibraltar and Mahon. I do not wish to have any thing disclosed at present, which may tend to expose the weak state of those fortresses; but I think it is incumbent on your Lordships to learn their strength, in point of numbers of men; and to know how the fact stands, relative to the possibility of the command of Gibraltar devolving on a foreigner, in case of any accident happening to the officer who now commands there.'

The motion was agreed to.

On the  
capture of  
General  
Burgoyne's  
army.

On the fifth day of December, in consequence of intelligence having arrived of the capture of General BURGOYNE'S army, Lord CHATHAM went to the House of Lords to make a motion upon that subject, which he introduced with remarking, 'That the King's speech at the opening of the session conveyed a general information of the measures intended to be pursued; and looked forward to the probable occurrences which might be supposed to happen, and affect the great bodies to whom they were addressed: and, of course, the nation at large, who were finally interested. He had

' had the last speech from the throne now  
 ' in his hand, and a deep sense of the public  
 ' calamity in his heart. They would both  
 ' co-operate to inforce and justify the mea-  
 ' sure he meant to propose. He was sorry  
 ' to say, the speech contained a very un-  
 ' faithful picture of the state of public af-  
 ' fairs. This assertion was unquestionable;  
 ' not a noble Lord in Administration would  
 ' dare rise, and even so much as controvert  
 ' the fact. The speech held out a specious  
 ' outside—was full of hopes; yet it was  
 ' manifest, that every thing within and with-  
 ' out, foreign and domestic, was full of dan-  
 ' ger, and calculated to inspire the most me-  
 ' lancholy forebodings. His Lordship hoped,  
 ' that this sudden call for their Lordships'  
 ' attention, would be imputed to its true  
 ' motive, a desire of obtaining their assist-  
 ' ance in such a season of difficulty and dan-  
 ' ger; a season in which, he would be bold  
 ' to maintain, a single moment was not to  
 ' be lost. It was customary, he said, for  
 ' that House to offer an address of condo-  
 ' lance to his Majesty upon any public mis-  
 ' fortune, as well as one of congratulation,  
 ' on any public success. If this was the  
 ' usage

' usage of Parliament, he never recollected  
 ' a period, at which, such an address be-  
 ' came more seasonable or necessary than at  
 ' present. If what was acknowledged in the  
 ' other House was true, he was astonished,  
 ' that some public notice was not taken of  
 ' the sad, the melancholy disaster.—The re-  
 ' port was, the fact was acknowledged by  
 ' persons in high authority, [Lords GER-  
 ' MAIN and NORTH] that General BUR-  
 ' GOYNE and his army were surrounded, and  
 ' obliged to surrender themselves prisoners  
 ' of war to the Provincials. He should  
 ' take the account of this calamitous event,  
 ' as now stated, and argue upon it as a mat-  
 ' ter universally allowed to be true. He  
 ' then lamented the fate of Mr. BURGOYNE  
 ' in the most pathetic terms; and said,  
 ' that gentleman's character, the glory of  
 ' the British arms, and the dearest inter-  
 ' ests of this undone, disgraced country  
 ' had been all sacrificed to the ignorance,  
 ' temerity, and incapacity of Ministers.  
 ' Appearances, he observed, were indeed  
 ' dreadful; he was not sufficiently informed  
 ' to decide on the extent of the numerous  
 ' evils with which we were surrounded; but  
 ' they



‘ they were clearly sufficient to give just  
‘ cause of alarm to the most confident or  
‘ callous heart. He spoke with great can-  
‘ dour of General BURGOYNE: he might,  
‘ or might not, be an able officer; but by  
‘ every thing he could learn, his fate was  
‘ not proportioned to his merit: he might  
‘ have received orders it was not in his  
‘ power to execute. Neither should he con-  
‘ demn Ministers; they might have instruct-  
‘ ed him wisely; he might have executed  
‘ his instructions faithfully and judiciously,  
‘ and yet he might have miscarried. There  
‘ are many events which the greatest human  
‘ foresight cannot provide against; it was  
‘ on that ground, therefore, he meant to  
‘ frame his motion. The fact was acknow-  
‘ ledged; the General had miscarried. It  
‘ might not have been his fault; it might  
‘ not be that of his employers or instructors.  
‘ To know where the fault lay, he was de-  
‘ sirous of having the orders given to Ge-  
‘ neral BURGOYNE, laid before the House.  
‘ So much of the plan at home, had, how-  
‘ ever, transpired, as justified him in affirm-  
‘ ing that the measures were founded in  
‘ weakness, barbarity, and inhumanity. Sa-  
‘ vages

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' vages had been employed to carry ruin  
 ' and devastation among our subjects in Ame-  
 ' rica. The tomahawk and scalping-knife  
 ' were put into the hands of the most brutal  
 ' and ferocious of the human species. Was  
 ' this honourable war? Was it the means  
 ' which God and Nature [alluding to what  
 ' had fallen from Lord SUFFOLK on the  
 ' opening of the session] put into the hands  
 ' of Englishmen, to assert their rights over  
 ' our colonies, and to procure their obedi-  
 ' ence, and conciliate their affection? His  
 ' Lordship spoke in the most pointed terms of  
 ' the system introduced within the last fifteen  
 ' years at St. James's: of breaking all con-  
 ' nection, of extinguishing all principle. A  
 ' few men had got an ascendancy, where  
 ' no man should have a personal ascendancy,  
 ' by the executive powers of the State be-  
 ' ing at their command; they had been fur-  
 ' nished with the means of creating divisions.  
 ' This brought pliable men, not capable  
 ' men into the highest and most responsible  
 ' situations; and to such men was the go-  
 ' vernment of this once glorious empire now  
 ' entrusted. The spirit of delusion had  
 ' gone forth; the Ministers had imposed on  
 ' the

' the people; Parliament had been induced  
 ' to sanctify the imposition; false lights had  
 ' been held out to the country gentlemen:  
 ' they had been seduced into the support of  
 ' a most destructive war; under the impres-  
 ' sion, that the Land Tax would be dimi-  
 ' nished, by the means of an American re-  
 ' venue. The visionary phantom, thus  
 ' conjured up for the basest of all purposes,  
 ' that of deception, was now about to va-  
 ' nish. He condemned the contents of the  
 ' speech in the bitterest terms of reproach.  
 ' He said it abounded with absurdity and  
 ' contradiction. In one part it recommend-  
 ' ed vigorous measures, pointing to conquest,  
 ' or unconditional submission; while in ano-  
 ' ther, it pretended to say, that peace was  
 ' the real object, as soon as the deluded  
 ' multitude should return to their allegiance.  
 ' This, his Lordship contended, was the  
 ' grossest and most insolent delusion. It  
 ' was by this strange mixture of firmness,  
 ' and pretended candour, of cruelty and  
 ' mercy, justice and iniquity, that this  
 ' infatuated nation had been all along  
 ' misled.

His

His Lordship returned to the situation of General BURGOYNE, and paid him, indeed, very high compliments. He said, his abilities were confessed; his personal bravery not surpassed; his zeal in the service unquestionable. He experienced no pestilence, nor suffered any of the accidents which sometimes supersede the most wise and spirited exertions of human industry. What then, says his Lordship, is the great cause of his misfortune? Want of wisdom in our Council, want of ability in our Ministers. His Lordship laid the whole blame on Ministers: it was their duty to shield that ill-treated officer from the temporary obloquy he must suffer under, till he had an opportunity to justify himself in person. His motion bore no personal relation to the conduct of that able, but abused officer; it was meant to be solely pointed to draw forth those instructions, which were the cause of his defeat and captivity. General BURGOYNE was subject to the events of war; so was every other man who bore a command in time of war; for his part, when he was in office, he never attempted



‘ to cover his own incapacity, by throwing  
‘ the blame on others ; on the contrary, he  
‘ gave them every support and becoming  
‘ countenance in his power.

‘ His Lordship condemned the plan of  
‘ operations, which he insisted was sent  
‘ from hence ; that of penetrating into the  
‘ Colonies from Canada. It was a most wild,  
‘ uncombined, and mad project ; it was full  
‘ of difficulty ; and though success had de-  
‘ clared in our favor, would have been a  
‘ wanton waste of blood and treasure. He  
‘ next animadverted on the mode of carry-  
‘ ing on the war, which he said was the most  
‘ bloody, barbarous, and ferocious, record-  
‘ ed in the annals of mankind. He con-  
‘ trasted the fame and renown we gained  
‘ the last war with the feats and disgraces  
‘ of the present ; then, he said, we arrived  
‘ at the highest pinnacle of glory ; now we  
‘ had sullied and tarnished the arms of Bri-  
‘ tain for ever, by employing savages in  
‘ our service, by drawing them up in a  
‘ British line, and mixing the scalping-knife  
‘ and tomahawk with the sword and fire-  
‘ lock. The horror he felt was so great,  
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' that had it fallen to his lot to serve in an  
 ' army where such cruelty was permitted,  
 ' he believed in his conscience he would  
 ' sooner mutiny than consent to serve with  
 ' such barbarians. Such a mode of warfare  
 ' was, in his opinion, a contamination, a  
 ' pollution of our national character, a  
 ' stigma which all the water of the rivers  
 ' Delaware and Hudson would never wash  
 ' away; it would rankle in the breast of  
 ' America, and sink so deep into it, that  
 ' he was almost certain they would never  
 ' forget nor forgive the horrid injury.

' His Lordship observed, that similar in-  
 ' structions relative to the Indians had been  
 ' imputed to him. He disclaimed the least  
 ' recollection of having given any such in-  
 ' structions; and in order to ascertain the  
 ' matter, so as to remove any ground of  
 ' future altercation on the subject, he called  
 ' upon Administration to produce the or-  
 ' ders, if any such had been given.

' We had, he said, swept every corner  
 ' of Germany for men: we had searched  
 ' the darkest wilds of America for the scalp-  
 ing-

ing-knife. But those bloody measures being as weak as they were wicked, he recommended that instant orders might be sent to call home the first, and disband the other—indeed, to withdraw our troops entirely; for peace, he was certain, would never be effected, as long as the German bayonet and Indian scalping-knife were threatened to be buried in the bowels of our American brethren. Such an expectation was absurd, mad, and foolish. The Colonies must consider us as friends, before they will ever consent to treat with us: a formal acknowledgment of our errors, and a renunciation of our unjust, ill-founded, and oppressive claims, must precede every the least attempt to conciliate. He declared himself an avowed enemy to American independency. He was a Whig; and though he utterly, from his heart, abhorred the system of government endeavoured to be carried into execution in America, he as earnestly and zealously contended for a Whig government, and a Whig connection between both countries,

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tries, founded in a constitutional dependence and subordination.

His Lordship recurred to the melancholy momentous situation of public affairs in general. He said, America was lost, even by the accounts which Administration in the Gazette had thought proper to impart. General WASHINGTON proved himself three times an abler general than Sir WILLIAM HOWE; for, with a force much inferior in number, and infinitely inferior in every other respect, as asserted from an authority not to be questioned [Lord GERMAINE] he had been able to baffle every attempt of ours, and left us in such a situation, that if not assisted by our fleet, our troops in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia must probably share the same unhappy fate with those under General BURGOYNE. He condemned the motives of the war in the most pointed and energetic expressions, and the conduct of it in still stronger; and compared the situation of this country to that brought on his dominions by the Duke of BURGUNDY,

sur-



‘ surnamed the Bold. — A Prince of the  
 ‘ House of Savoy had his property seized  
 ‘ by him; the injured Prince would not  
 ‘ submit; war was determined on; and the  
 ‘ object strongly resembled the paltry pre-  
 ‘ tence on which we had armed, and had  
 ‘ carried fire, sword, and devastation, through  
 ‘ every corner of America. The seizure was  
 ‘ about a cargo of skins; he would have  
 ‘ them, but the Prince of Saumur would  
 ‘ not submit. The Duke was conjured not  
 ‘ to go to war; but he persisted: “ he  
 ‘ was determined steadily to pursue the  
 ‘ same measures:” he marched against “ the  
 ‘ deluded multitude:” but at last gave one  
 ‘ instance of his magnanimity, by imputing  
 ‘ his misfortunes to his own obstinacy;  
 ‘ “ because,” said he, “ this was owing to  
 ‘ my not submitting to be well advised.”  
 ‘ The case of the Duke of BURGUNDY  
 ‘ was applicable to England. Ministers had  
 ‘ undertaken a rash enterprize, without wis-  
 ‘ dom to plan, or ability to execute.

‘ What had occasioned since last war, the  
 ‘ rise in the value of English estates? Ame-

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' rica, which he now feared was for ever  
 ' lost. She had been the great support of  
 ' this country; she had produced millions;  
 ' she afforded soldiers and sailors; she had  
 ' given our manufacturers employment, and  
 ' enriched our merchants. The gentlemen  
 ' of landed property would probably feel  
 ' this; for, when commerce fails, when new  
 ' burdens are incurred, when the means by  
 ' which those burdens were lightened are no  
 ' more, the land-owner will feel the double  
 ' pressure of heavy taxes: he will find them  
 ' doubled in the first instance, and his rents  
 ' proportionably decreased. But what had  
 ' we sacrificed all those advantages for? In  
 ' pursuit of a pepper-corn! And how did  
 ' we treat America? Petitions rejected—  
 ' complaints unanswered—dutiful represen-  
 ' tations treated with contempt---an attempt  
 ' to establish despotism on the ruins of con-  
 ' stitutional liberty---measures to enforce  
 ' taxation by the point of the sword. Mi-  
 ' nisters had insidiously betrayed us into a  
 ' war; and what were the fruits of it? Let  
 ' the sad catastrophe which had befallen  
 ' Mr. BURGOYNE speak the success.

' In

‘ In the course of his speech, he adverted  
 ‘ to the language and Tory doctrine held in  
 ‘ print, and in that house, by a most reve-  
 ‘ rend Prelate: and, he trusted, he should  
 ‘ yet see the day, when those pernicious  
 ‘ doctrines would be deemed libellous, and  
 ‘ treated as such. They were the doctrines  
 ‘ of ATTERBURY and SACHEVEREL. As  
 ‘ a Whig, he should never endure them;  
 ‘ and doubted not, the author or authors  
 ‘ would suffer that degree of censure and  
 ‘ punishment they were justly entitled to,

‘ After recommending measures of peace  
 ‘ instead of measures of blood, and promis-  
 ‘ ing to co-operate in every measure that  
 ‘ might promise to put a stop to the effusion  
 ‘ of the one, and to promote the other,  
 ‘ which might still prove the means of once  
 ‘ more uniting our Colonies to us, his Lord-  
 ‘ ship moved, “ That an humble Address  
 ‘ be presented to his Majesty, most humbly  
 ‘ beseeching his Majesty that he will be gra-  
 ‘ ciously pleased to order the proper officers  
 ‘ to lay before this House copies of all or-  
 ‘ ders and instructions to Lieutenant Gen-  
 ‘ eral

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His motion on the  
employment of the  
Indians.

‘ eral BURGOYNE, relative to that part of  
‘ his Majesty’s forces in America under his  
‘ command.’

The motion was negatived. After which,  
Lord Chatham moved, ‘ That an humble  
address be presented to his Majesty, most  
humbly beseeching his Majesty that he  
would be graciously pleased to order the  
proper officers to lay before this House all  
orders and treaties relative to the employ-  
ment in conjunction with the British troops  
against the inhabitants of the British Colon-  
ies in North America, with a copy of the  
instructions given by General BURGOYNE  
to Colonel St. Leger.”

Lord GOWER having opposed this mo-  
tion with vehemence and acrimony, Lord  
CHATHAM rose, ‘ and reproached the noble  
‘ Lord with petulance and malignant mis-  
‘ representation. He denied that Indians  
‘ had ever been employed by him; they  
‘ might have crept into the service, from  
‘ the utility which the officers found in them  
‘ when they were engaged in some parti-  
‘ cular enterprizes in unexplored places;  
‘ but



‘ but they were never employed by the late  
 ‘ King (GEORGE II.) who, he said had too  
 ‘ much regard for the military dignity of  
 ‘ his people, and also too much humanity,  
 ‘ to agree to such a proposal, had it ever  
 ‘ been made to him. And he called upon  
 Lord AMHERST to declare the truth.’

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Lord AMHERST reluctantly owned, that  
 Indians had been employed on both sides;  
 the French employed them first, he said, and  
 we followed the example.

On the 11th day of December 1777, a  
 motion was made to adjourn to the 20th of  
 January 1778. This long adjournment was  
 opposed by Lord CHATHAM. He said,

It is not with less grief than astonish-  
 ‘ ment I hear the motion now made by the  
 ‘ noble Earl, at a time when the affairs of  
 ‘ this country present, on every side, pros-  
 ‘ pects full of awe, terror, and impending  
 ‘ danger; when, I will be bold to say, events  
 ‘ of a most alarming tendency, little expect-  
 ‘ ed or foreseen, will shortly happen; when  
 ‘ a cloud, that may crush this nation, and  
 ‘ bury it in destruction for ever, is ready

His speech  
 against the  
 motion to  
 adjourn.

‘ to

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' to burst and overwhelm us in ruin. At  
 ' so tremendous a season, it does not be-  
 ' come your Lordships, the great hereditary  
 ' council of the nation to neglect your duty ;  
 ' to retire to your country seats for six  
 ' weeks, in quest of joy and merriment,  
 ' while the real state of public affairs call  
 ' for grief, mourning, and lamentation, at  
 ' least, for the fullest exertions of your  
 ' wisdom. It is your duty, my Lords, as  
 ' the grand hereditary council of the na-  
 ' tion, to advise your Sovereign—to be the  
 ' protectors of your country---to feel your  
 ' own weight and authority. As hereditary  
 ' counsellors, as members of this house,  
 ' you stand between the crown and the  
 ' people ; you are nearer the throne than  
 ' the other branch of the legislature, it is  
 ' your duty to surround and protect, to  
 ' counsel and supplicate it ; you hold the  
 ' balance, your duty is to see that the weights  
 ' are properly poised, that the balance re-  
 ' mains even, that neither may encroach  
 ' on the other ; and that the executive  
 ' power may be prevented, by an uncon-  
 ' stitutional exertion of even constitutional  
 ' authority, from bringing the nation to  
 ' destruction.

destruction. My Lords, I fear we are  
arrived at the very brink of that state;  
and I am persuaded, that nothing short  
of a spirited interposition on your part, in  
giving speedy and wholesome advice to  
your Sovereign, can prevent the people  
from feeling beyond remedy the full  
effects of that ruin which Ministers  
have brought upon us. These are the  
calamitous circumstances, Ministers have  
been the cause of; and shall we, in such  
a state of things, when every moment  
teems with events productive of the most  
fatal narratives—shall we trust, during an  
adjournment of six weeks, to those men  
who have brought those calamities upon  
us, when, perhaps, our utter overthrow is  
plotting, nay, ripe for execution, with-  
out almost a possibility of prevention?  
Ten thousand brave men have fallen vic-  
tims to ignorance and rashness. The only  
army you have in America may, by this  
time, be no more. This very nation re-  
mains no longer safe than its enemies  
think proper to permit. I do not augur  
ill. Events of a most critical nature may  
take place before our next meeting. Will  
your

‘ your Lordships, then, in such a state of  
 ‘ things, rust to the guidance of men, who,  
 ‘ in every single step of this cruel, this  
 ‘ wicked war, from the very beginning,  
 ‘ have proved themselves weak, ignorant,  
 ‘ and mistaken? I will not say, my Lords,  
 ‘ nor do I mean any thing personal, or that  
 ‘ they have brought premeditated ruin on  
 ‘ this country. I will not suppose that  
 ‘ they foresaw what has since happened;  
 ‘ but I do contend, my Lords, that their  
 ‘ guilt (I will not suppose it guilt), but  
 ‘ their want of wisdom, their incapacity,  
 ‘ their temerity in depending on their own  
 ‘ judgment, or their base compliances with  
 ‘ the orders and dictates of others, perhaps  
 ‘ caused by the influence of one or two  
 ‘ individuals, have rendered them totally  
 ‘ unworthy of your Lordships confidence,  
 ‘ of the confidence of Parliament, and of  
 ‘ those whose rights they are the constitu-  
 ‘ tional guardians of, the people at large.  
 ‘ A remonstrance, my Lords, should be  
 ‘ carried to the throne. The King has  
 ‘ been deluded by his Ministers. They  
 ‘ have been imposed upon by false infor-  
 ‘ mation, or have, from motives best known



' to themselves, given apparent credit to  
 ' what they were convinced in their hearts  
 ' was untrue. The nation has been be-  
 ' trayed into the ruinous measure of an  
 ' American war, by the arts of imposition,  
 ' by their own credulity, through the means  
 ' of false hopes, false pride, and promised  
 ' advantages, of the most romantic and im-  
 ' probable nature. My Lords, I do not  
 ' wish to call your attention entirely to  
 ' that point. I would fairly appeal to your  
 ' own sentiments, whether I can be justly  
 ' charged with arrogance or presumption,  
 ' if I said, great and able as Ministers think  
 ' themselves, that all the wisdom of the  
 ' nation is confined to the narrow circle of  
 ' the petty cabinet. I might, I think, with-  
 ' out presumption, say, that your Lordships,  
 ' as one of the branches of the legislature,  
 ' may be as capable of advising your Sove-  
 ' reign, in the moment of difficulty and  
 ' danger, as any lesser council, composed  
 ' of a fewer number; and who, being al-  
 ' ready so fatally trusted, have betrayed a  
 ' want of honesty, or a want of talents. Is  
 ' it, my Lords, within the utmost stretch  
 ' of the most sanguine expectation; that  
 ' the

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‘ the same men who have plunged you in-  
 ‘ to your present perilous and calamitous  
 ‘ situation, are the proper persons to rescue  
 ‘ you from it? No, my Lords, such an ex-  
 ‘ pectation would be preposterous and ab-  
 ‘ surd. I say, my Lords, you are now  
 ‘ specially called upon to interpose. It is  
 ‘ your duty to forego every call of business  
 ‘ and pleasure; to give up your whole time  
 ‘ to inquire into past misconduct; to pro-  
 ‘ vide remedies for the present; to prevent  
 ‘ future evils; to *rest on your arms*, if I  
 ‘ may use the expression, to watch for the  
 ‘ public safety; to defend and support the  
 ‘ throne; and, if fate should so ordain it,  
 ‘ to fall with becoming fortitude with the  
 ‘ rest of your fellow-subjects in the general  
 ‘ ruin. I fear this last must be the event  
 ‘ of this mad, unjust, and cruel war. It is  
 ‘ your Lordships’ duty to do every thing  
 ‘ in your power that it shall not; but, if it  
 ‘ must be so, I trust your Lordships and  
 ‘ the nation will fall gloriously.

‘ My Lords, as the first and most imme-  
 ‘ diate object of your inquiry, I would re-  
 ‘ commend to you to consider the true state  
 ‘ of

of our home-defence. We have heard much from a noble Lord in this House, of the state of our navy. I cannot give an implicit belief to what I have heard on that important subject. I still retain my former opinion relative to the number of line of battle ships; but as an enquiry into the real state of the navy is destined to be the subject of a future consideration, I do not wish to hear more about it, till that period arrives. I allow, in argument, that we have thirty-five ships of the line fit for actual service. I doubt much whether such a force would give us a full command of the Channel. I am certain, if it did, every other part of our possessions must lie naked and defenceless, in every quarter of the globe. I fear our utter destruction is at hand. [Here and in many other parts of his speech, his Lordship broadly hinted, that the House of Bourbon was meditating some important and decisive blow near home. What, my Lords, is the state of our military defence? I would not wish to expose our present weakness; but weak as we are, if this war should be continued, as the public declaration

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‘ ration of persons in high confidence with  
‘ their Sovereign would induce us to sup-  
‘ pose, is this nation to be entirely stripped?  
‘ And if it should, would every foldier now  
‘ in Britain be sufficient to give us an equal-  
‘ ity to the force in America? - I will main-  
‘ tain they would not. Where, then, will  
‘ men be procured? Recruits are not to  
‘ be had in this country. Germany will  
‘ give no more. I have read in the new-  
‘ papers of this day, and I have reason to  
‘ believe it to be true, that the head of the  
‘ Germanic body has remonstrated against  
‘ it, and has taken measures accordingly to  
‘ prevent it. Ministers have, I hear, ap-  
‘ plied to the Swiss Cantons. The idea is  
‘ preposterous! The Swiss never permit  
‘ their troops to go beyond sea. But, my  
‘ Lords, if even men were to be procured  
‘ in Germany, how will you march them to  
‘ the water-side? Have not our Ministers  
‘ applied for the port of Embden, and has  
‘ it not been refused? I say, you will not  
‘ be able to procure men even for your  
‘ home-defence, if some immediate steps  
‘ be not taken. I remember during the  
‘ last war, it was thought adviseable to levy  
‘ independent



independent companies : they were, when completed, formed into battalions, and proved of great service. I love the army; I know its use; but I must nevertheless own, that I was a great friend to the measure of establishing a national militia. I remember the last war, that there were three camps formed of that corps, at once in this kingdom. I saw them myself; one at Winchester, another in the West, at Plymouth; and a third, if I recollect right, at Chatham. [Told he was right]. Whether the militia is at present in such a state as to answer the valuable purposes it did then, or is capable of being rendered so, I will not pretend to say; but I see no reason, why in such a critical state of affairs, the experiment should not be made; and why it may not be put again on the former respectable footing. I remember, all the circumstances considered, when appearances were not nearly so melancholy and alarming as they now are, that there were more troops in the county of Kent alone, for the defence of that County, than there are now in the whole island.

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' My Lords, I contend, that we have  
 ' not, nor can procure, any force sufficient  
 ' to subdue America. It is monstrous to  
 ' think of it. There are several noble  
 ' Lords present, well acquainted with mi-  
 ' litary affairs. I call upon any one of  
 ' them to rise and pledge himself, that the  
 ' military force now within the kingdom  
 ' is adequate to its defence, or that any  
 ' possible force to be procured from Ger-  
 ' many, Switzerland, or elsewhere, will be  
 ' equal to the conquest of America. I am  
 ' too perfectly persuaded of their abilities  
 ' and integrity, to expect any such as-  
 ' surance from them. Oh ! but if America  
 ' is not to be conquered, she is to be treated  
 ' with. Conciliation is at length thought  
 ' of; terms are to be offered. Who are  
 ' the persons that are to treat on the part  
 ' of this afflicted and deluded country?  
 ' The very men who have been the authors  
 ' of our misfortunes: the very men who  
 ' have endeavoured, by the most pernicious  
 ' policy, the highest injustice and op-  
 ' pression, the most cruel and devastating  
 ' war, to enslave those people; they would

' conciliate to gain the confidence and af-  
 ' fection of those, who have survived the  
 ' Indian tomahawk, and the German bay-  
 ' onet. Can your Lordships entertain the  
 ' most distant prospect of success from such  
 ' a treaty, and such negotiators? No, my  
 ' Lords, the Americans have virtue, and  
 ' they must detest the principles of such  
 ' men; they have understanding, and too  
 ' much wisdom, to trust to the cunning  
 ' and narrow politics which must cause such  
 ' overtures on the part of their merciless  
 ' persecutors. My Lords, I maintain, that  
 ' they would shun, with a mixture of pru-  
 ' dence and detestation, any proposition  
 ' coming from that quarter. They would  
 ' receive terms from such men, as snares to  
 ' allure and betray. They would dread  
 ' them as ropes, meant to be put about  
 ' their legs to entangle and overthrow them  
 ' in certain ruin.

' My Lords, supposing that our domestic  
 ' danger, if at all, is far distant; that our  
 ' enemies will leave us at liberty to pro-  
 ' secute this war with the utmost of our  
 ' ability;



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‘ ability; suppose your Lordships should  
‘ grant a fleet one day, an army another;  
‘ all these, I do affirm, will avail nothing,  
‘ unless you accompany it with advice.  
‘ Ministers have been in error; experience  
‘ has proved it; and what is worse, they  
‘ continue in it. They told you in the be-  
‘ ginning, that 15,000 men would traverse  
‘ America, without scarcely the appearance  
‘ of interruption; two campaigns have  
‘ passed since they gave us this assurance.  
‘ Treble that number has been employed;  
‘ and one of your armies, which composed  
‘ two-thirds of the force by which America  
‘ was to be subdued, has been totally de-  
‘ stroyed, and is now led captive through  
‘ those provinces you call rebellious. Those  
‘ men whom you called cowards, paltrons,  
‘ runaways, and knaves, are become victo-  
‘ rious over your veteran troops; and in  
‘ the midst of victory, and flush of con-  
‘ quest, have set Ministers the example of  
‘ moderation and of magnanimity worthy  
‘ imitation.

‘ My Lords, no time should be lost which  
‘ may promise to improve this disposition  
‘ in



' in America; unless, by an obstinacy found-  
 ' ed in madness, we wish to stifle those em-  
 ' bers of affection which, after all our sa-  
 ' vage treatment, do not seem as yet to  
 ' have been entirely extinguished. While  
 ' on one side we must lament the un-  
 ' happy fate of that spirited officer, Mr.  
 ' BURGOYNE, and the gallant troops under  
 ' his command, who were sacrificed to the  
 ' wanton temerity and ignorance of Mi-  
 ' nisters, we are as strongly impelled on the  
 ' other to admire and applaud the generous,  
 ' magnanimous conduct, the noble friend-  
 ' ship, brotherly affection and humanity of  
 ' the victors, who condescending to impute  
 ' the horrid orders of massacre and de-  
 ' vastation to their true authors, supposed,  
 ' that as soldiers and Englishmen, those  
 ' cruel excesses could not have originated  
 ' with the General, nor were consonant to  
 ' the brave and humane spirit of a British  
 ' soldier, if not compelled to it as an act  
 ' of duty. They traced the first cause of  
 ' those diabolical orders to their source;  
 ' and, by that wise and generous interpre-  
 ' tation, granted their professed destroyers

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‘ terms of capitulation, which they could  
‘ be only entitled to as the makers of fair  
‘ and honourable war.

‘ My Lords, I should not have presumed  
‘ to trouble you, if the tremendous state of  
‘ this nation did not, in my opinion, make  
‘ it necessary. Such as I have this day de-  
‘ scribed it to be, I do maintain it is. The  
‘ same measures are still persisted in; and  
‘ Ministers, because your Lordships have  
‘ been deluded, deceived and mislead, pre-  
‘ sume, that whenever the worst comes,  
‘ they will be enabled to shelter themselves  
‘ behind Parliament. This, my Lords,  
‘ cannot be the case: they have committed  
‘ themselves and their measures to the fate  
‘ of war, and they must abide the issue. I  
‘ tremble for this country; I am almost  
‘ led to despair, that we shall ever be able  
‘ to extricate ourselves. Whether or not,  
‘ the day of retribution is at hand, when the  
‘ vengeance of a much-injured and afflict-  
‘ ed people will, I trust, fall heavily on  
‘ the authors of their ruin; and I am  
‘ strongly inclined to believe, that before  
the

‘ the day to which the proposed adjourn-  
‘ ment shall arrive, the noble Earl who  
‘ moved it will have just cause to repent  
‘ of his motion.’

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The motion of adjournment was agreed to.

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## CHAP. XLV.

LORD CHATHAM'S ZEAL AND ANXIETY  
RESPECTING AMERICA — HIS LAST  
SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS —  
HIS LAST PLAN TO PRESERVE AME-  
RICA — HIS SUDDEN ILLNESS IN THE  
HOUSE OF LORDS.

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Lord  
Chatham's  
zeal and  
anxiety  
respecting  
America.

NOTWITHSTANDING a negative had been put upon every proposition and motion made by Lord CHATHAM, concerning America, yet he resolved to persevere in the same line of conduct. To his zeal in this cause he sacrificed his life. He had not strength of constitution sufficient to bear the exertions he made. He was now advanced in the seventieth year of his age; had for many years suffered the severest pains of the gout; but possessing talents superior to most men, he felt with the sharpest sensibility, the progress of events, which passed with indifference before the eyes of other men, who had not his penetration: although debilitated by infirmity, and ener-  
vated



vated by anguish of body and mind, still he refused to yield to the calls of his disorder, or to mitigate his torture, by the indulgence of a bed——while his country was bleeding at every pore, he felt for her, not for himself. Her honour and splendour had been his glory and his pride—her debasement and adversity were now the only subjects of his concern and anxiety\*.

On the 7th day of April 1778, the DUKE of RICHMOND having moved to present an Address to the King on the subject of the state of the nation, in which *the necessity of admitting the Independence of America was insinuated*, Lord CHATHAM rose to speak again on this subject.

His last  
Speech  
in the  
House of  
Lords.

‘ He began by lamenting that his bodily  
‘ infirmities had so long, and especially at  
‘ so important a crisis, prevented his at-

\* At, or near, the beginning of this year, a very extraordinary negotiation was attempted to be opened with Lord Chatham, through the Channels of Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington; the particulars of which the reader will find in the Appendix Y.

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‘ tendance on the duties of Parliament. He  
 ‘ declared that he had made an effort al-  
 ‘ most beyond the powers of his constitu-  
 ‘ tion to come down to the House on this  
 ‘ day (perhaps the last time he should ever  
 ‘ be able to enter its walls) to express the  
 ‘ indignation he felt at an idea which he  
 ‘ understood was gone forth, of yielding up  
 ‘ the sovereignty of America!

‘ My Lords, continued he, I rejoice that  
 ‘ the grave has not closed upon me; that  
 ‘ I am still alive to lift up my voice against  
 ‘ the dismemberment of this ancient and  
 ‘ most noble monarchy! Pressed down  
 ‘ as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am  
 ‘ little able to assist my country in this most  
 ‘ perilous conjuncture; but, my Lords,  
 ‘ while I have sense and memory, I will  
 ‘ never consent to deprive the royal off-  
 ‘ spring of the House of Brunswick, the  
 ‘ heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fair-  
 ‘ est inheritance. Where is the man that  
 ‘ will dare to advise such a measure? My  
 ‘ Lords, his Majesty succeeded to an em-  
 ‘ pire as great in extent as its reputation  
 ‘ was

‘ was unfullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre  
‘ of this nation by an ignominious surren-  
‘ der of its rights and fairest possessions?  
‘ Shall this great kingdom, that has sur-  
‘ vived whole and entire the Danish de-  
‘ predations, the Scottish inroads, and the  
‘ Norman conquest; that has stood the  
‘ threatened invasion of the Spanish ar-  
‘ mada, now fall prostrate before the  
‘ House of Bourbon? Surely, my Lords,  
‘ this nation is no longer what it was!  
‘ Shall a people, that seventeen years ago  
‘ was the terror of the world, now stoop so  
‘ low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy,  
‘ take all we have, only give us peace?  
‘ It is impossible!

‘ I wage war with no man, or set of men.  
‘ I wish for none of their employments;  
‘ nor would I co-operate with men who  
‘ still persist in unretracted error; or who,  
‘ instead of acting on a firm decisive line  
‘ of conduct, halt between two opinions,  
‘ where there is no middle path. In God’s  
‘ name, if it is absolutely necessary, to de-  
‘ clare either for peace or war, and the  
‘ former

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‘ former cannot be preserved with honour,  
‘ why is not the latter commenced without  
‘ hesitation? I am not, I confess, well in-  
‘ formed of the resources of this kingdom;  
‘ but I trust it has still sufficient to main-  
‘ tain its just rights, though I know them  
‘ not.—But, my Lords, any state is better  
‘ than despair. Let us at least make one  
‘ effort; and if we must fall, let us fall  
‘ like men!’

When his Lordship sat down, Lord  
TEMPLE said to him, “ You have forgot to  
mention what we have been talking about  
—Shall I get up?” Lord CHATHAM re-  
plied, “ No, no; I will do it by and by.”

Lord  
Chatham’s  
last plan to  
preserve  
America.

The conversation to which Lord TEMPLE  
alluded, related to the principal features of  
a plan, which Lord CHATHAM had formed  
with a view to effect the recovery of Ame-  
rica. The first part of the plan was, to  
recommend to his Majesty, to take Duke  
FERDINAND of BRUNSWICK immediately  
into his service. Lord CHATHAM’s design  
in this measure, was to make an impression  
upon



upon France on the Continent, in order to prevent her sending that assistance to the Americans, which he knew the French Court had promised.—Another part of the plan was, to recommend a Treaty of Union with the Americans—that America should make peace and war in concert with Great Britain; that she should hoist the British flag, and use the King's name in her Courts of Justice. His ideas went no further in this conversation. But he conceived an opinion, that when America saw the impossibility of deriving any assistance from France, the Congress would accept of these terms.

The reader cannot but observe, that this plan is perfectly consonant with his Lordship's former plan, which proved so eminently successful in the late war—of conquering America by making a vigorous impression upon France in Europe. He saw, that a war with France was become unavoidable: therefore, with his usual penetration and spirit, he wished to commence that war immediately, upon his own principles. He detested that procrastination, which gave the

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the enemy power, not only of chusing the period of his conveniency, but the first scenes of operation\*.

His sudden  
illness in  
the House  
of Lords.

The Duke of RICHMOND having spoken in answer to some parts of Lord CHATHAM's speech, his Lordship attempted to rise, to reply to his Grace; but after two or three unsuccessful efforts to stand, he fainted and fell down on his seat. The Duke of CUMBERLAND, Lord TEMPLE, Lord STAMFORD, and the other Lords near him, caught

\* The war which France carried on in America, in conjunction with the United States, was infinitely more expensive and injurious, to England, than a war against France in Europe, would have been. That this is not an assertion founded in conjecture, may be seen by comparing the charges of the German war, during the years 1758, 1759, 1760, and 1761, with the charges of the American war, during the years 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781—exclusive of the arrears at the conclusion of each war. See this point mentioned in Chap. XVI.—It was a saying of President HENAUULT, author of the History of France, that if there had been a succession of such Ministers as the Duke of SULLY, nothing could have withstood the power of France. In imitation of which, it may be said, with equal truth, that if there had been a succession of such Ministers as Lord CHATHAM, nothing could have withstood the power of Great Britain.

him

him in their arms. The House was immediately cleared, and the windows were opened.

—Dr. BROCKLESBY being in the House, his assistance was instantly obtained. His Lordship was carried into an adjoining room, and the House directly adjourned.

This unhappy circumstance proved the melancholy prelude of his death. As soon as possible, his Lordship was conveyed to his favourite villa at Hayes in Kent; where he was attended by his confidential physician, Dr. ADDINGTON.

## C H A P. XLVI.

LORD CHATHAM'S DEATH—THE CONDUCT  
OF PARLIAMENT UPON THAT EVENT—  
SOME TRAITS OF HIS CHARACTER.

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Lord Cha-  
tham's  
death.

**L**ORD CHATHAM's infirm and emaciated state of body baffled every effort that skill and medicine could afford. The exertions he had lately made, had exhausted his frame and constitution. He languished at Hayes until the eleventh day of May, 1778, when he died; to the sincere regret of every British subject, and of every person who had a just sense of human dignity and virtue. Such a man appears but seldom.—Lord CHATHAM was a man of such extraordinary talents, that he would have made a shining figure in any station. Had he continued in the army, there is no doubt he would have died at the head of his corps, or have advanced to the head of his profession. He was not born for subordination.

Intelli-



Intelligence of his death being sent to London, Colonel BARRE, the moment he heard it, hastened to the House of Commons, who were then sitting, and communicated the melancholy information. Although it was an event, that had, in some measure, been expected for several days, yet the House were affected with the deepest sensibility. Even the adherents of the Court joined in the general sorrow, which was apparent in every countenance. The old Members indulged a fond remembrance of the energy and melody of his voice; his commanding eye, his graceful action. The new Members lamented, they should hear no more the precepts of his experience, nor feel the powers of his eloquence. A deep grief prevailed. The public loss was acknowledged on all sides. Every one bore testimony to the abilities and virtues of the deceased. On this occasion all appearance of party was extinguished. There was but one sense throughout the House.

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Colonel BARRE moved, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that the remains of

Conduct of  
Parliament upon  
that event.

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WILLIAM PITT, Earl of CHATHAM, be interred at the public expence; and that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that great and excellent Statesman, with an inscription expressive of the sentiments of the people on so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his Majesty that this House would make good the expence attending the same."

While the Motion was reading, Lord NORTH came into the House, and as soon as he was informed of the business, he gave it his most hearty concurrence; lamenting that he had not come in sooner, that he might have had the honour to have made the motion himself.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

On the thirteenth day of May Lord NORTH assured the House, that his Majesty had readily agreed to their address, respecting the interment of the Earl of CHATHAM, and to the erection of a monument to his memory.

Lord JOHN CAVENDISH said, that he hoped

hoped the public gratitude would not stop here. As that invaluable man, had, whilst in the nation's service, neglected his own affairs, and though he had the greatest opportunity of enriching himself, had never made any provision for his family, he hoped an ample provision would be made for the descendants of so honest and able a Minister.

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Lord NORTH coincided warmly in the noble Lord's wish; and Lord NUGENT, Mr. FOX, Mr. MONTAGU, Mr. BYNG, and several other Gentlemen, expressed the most sincere affection for the deceased Peer, and pronounced the highest eulogiums on his virtue and talents; adding, that he had neglected his private interests by directing his whole attention to national objects. Mr. T. TOWNSHEND, now Lord SYDNEY, moved, That an humble address be presented to the King, expressing the wishes of the House, that his Majesty would confer some signal and lasting mark of his royal favour on the family of the deceased Earl, and that whatever bounty he should think proper to bestow, the House would cheerfully make good the same. The motion was agreed to unanimously.

On

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On the twenty-first, Lord NORTH delivered to the House the following message from the King.

GEORGE R.

“ His Majesty having considered the Address of this House, that he will be graciously pleased to confer some signal and lasting mark of his royal favour on the family of the late WILLIAM PITT, Earl of CHATHAM, and being desirous to comply as speedily as possible with the request of his faithful Commons, has given directions for granting to the present Earl of CHATHAM, and to the heirs of the body of the late WILLIAM PITT, to whom the Earldom of CHATHAM may descend, an annuity of four thousand pounds per annum, payable out of the Civil List revenue; but his Majesty not having it in his power to extend the effect of the said grant beyond the term of his own life, recommends it to the House to consider of a proper method of extending, securing and annexing the same to the Earldom of CHATHAM in such a manner as shall be most effectual for the benefit of the family of the said WILLIAM PITT, Earl of CHATHAM.”

GEORGE R.

The



The message was referred to the Committee of Supply; it was unanimously agreed to; upon which a Bill was brought in, and it passed unanimously also.

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On the twenty-second day of May, the House agreed to present another Address to the King, requesting his Majesty to give orders, that twenty thousand pounds be issued, for the payment of the debts of the late Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, Earl of CHATHAM; and to assure his Majesty, that the House would make good the same. The request was complied with, and included in the current services of the year.

The particulars of the public funeral, and other circumstances connected with it, as well as a number of papers concerning his Lordship's family, his character, the public monuments, &c. the reader will find in the Appendix Z.

There are some traits of his character, which are proper to be selected from the general eulogies, which are also in the Appendix.—

The

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Character  
of Lord  
Chatham.

The History of the Seven Years War, is the History of his Administration. The dread of his name, and the fame of his spirit, infused alarm and vigour into all the belligerent powers. He contended, therefore, with all their force.

The American Congress of 1774, in their Address to the People of Great Britain, said, "This war was rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a Minister, to whose efforts the British empire owes its safety and its fame." The treaty of peace, which terminated that war, was a measure, which equally in the period of its execution, as well as in the terms of its construction, met with his sincere and unalterable disapprobation—His grand and his favourite plans for humbling the *whole* House of Bourbon, for carrying the splendour and opulence of Great Britain to the highest degree of fame and wealth—were thereby frustrated and annihilated. The glory of the Minister, the honour of the Crown, the interest of the country, were all sacrificed to the revenge of a faction; which seemed to acquire protection from the court, and increase of numbers from the profligate, in proportion

tion to the increase of the enormity, and perfidy of their crimes.

His efforts to preserve America, even to the latest moments of his life, indisputably manifest his high opinion of the importance of that great continent. In more than one conversation he said, America would prove a staff to support the aged arm of Britain—the Oak upon which she might hereafter recline, shaded and protected by filial duty and affection. But his Majesty's *confidential* advisers wanted to cut down this Oak, and to plant their favourite weed, *unconditional submission*, in its place. In another age it may be admitted, that the Patriot was prophetic; that the Paricide was apparent.

He was the first English Minister who armed the hardy race of the North. It is immaterial, whether he adopted the recommendation from the plan given in Chapter XIV;—the measure shewed the liberal and comprehensive judgment of the Statesman. The North has ever been propitious to conquest. The world has seen it in the present day, in the instance of Russia lately pouring her legions against the luxurious South  
—like

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—like the Goths against the Romans. He saw the advantage intuitively; and therefore brought this martial race of men from their cold abodes in the northern extremities of the island, and directed their ardour and fierceness against the enemies of his country.

—In the exercise of his duty as a Minister, he was assiduous and incessant. He gave no hours to private, or domestic interests. He had no levees, nor evening engagements: he devoted himself to the Public; and the nation possessed him entirely. His virtue and integrity were proverbial.

His whole study, his whole employment, his only attention, was the exaltation of his country, by the humiliation of her enemies. He grieved at the prohibition laid on the execution of his plans; and he died in an effort to preserve the dominion of a Continent, he had in part acquired, and would have wholly secured to the British name for ever.

END OF VOLUME II.





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